

**AN ETHNOSEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF THE
CULTURAL LEXICON OF KASHMIRI
LANGUAGE**

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Under the Supervision of

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CERTIFICATE

The thesis entitled “**An Ethnosemantic Analysis of the Cultural Lexicon of Kashmiri Language**” submitted to the University of Kashmir, Srinagar for award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics, embodies original research work carried out by Ms. Shabina under my supervision. This work has not been submitted in part or in full for this or any other degree before.

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The research work, ‘**An Ethnosemantic Analysis of the Cultural Lexicon of Kashmiri Language**’ presented in this thesis has been carried out by me at the Department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir, under the supervision of **Dr. Aejaz Mohammed Sheikh**, Senior Assistant Professor, Department of Linguistics, University of Kashmir.

The work is original and has not been submitted in part or in full, in this or any other university, for any other degree or diploma to the best of my knowledge.

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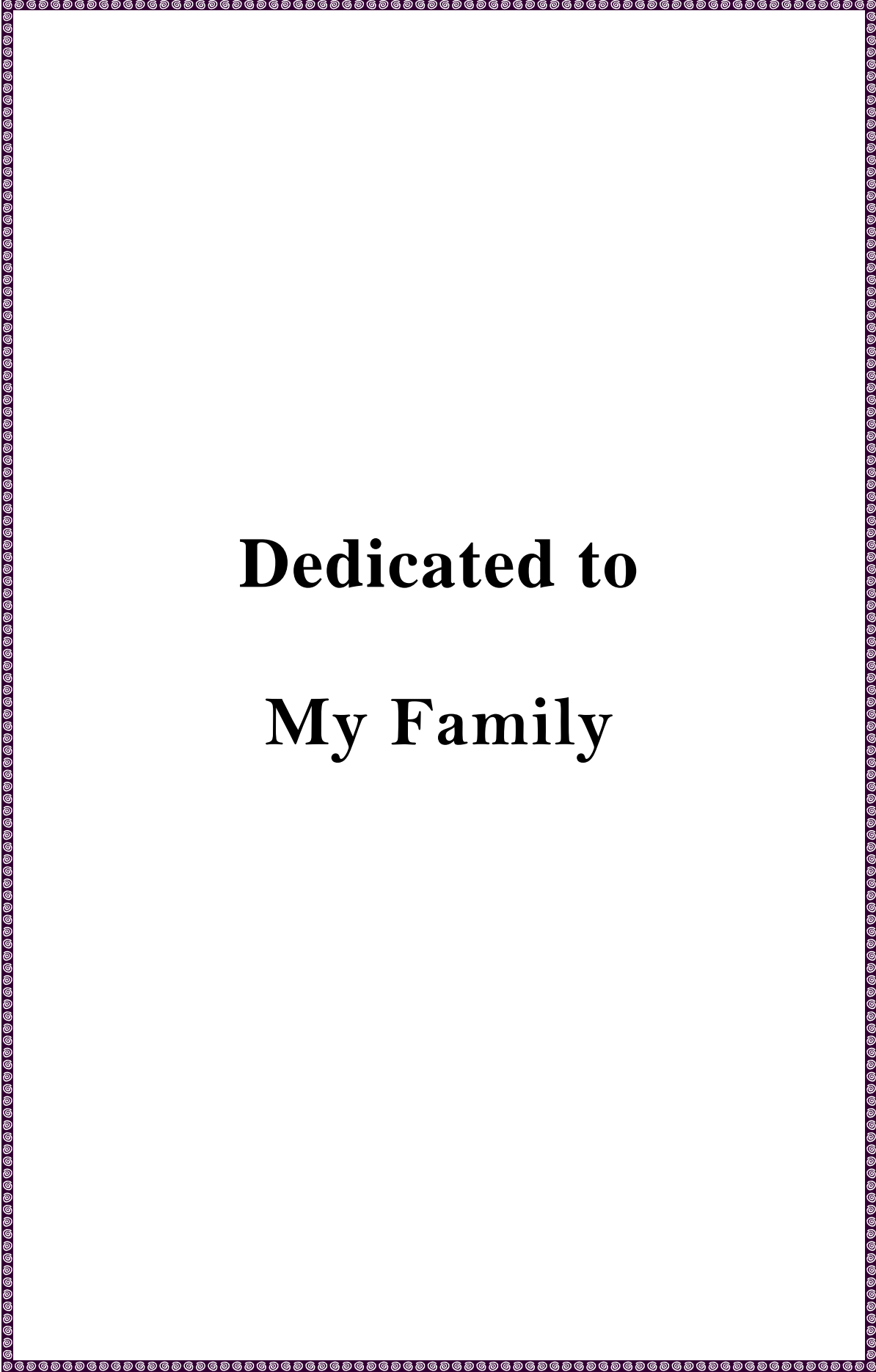
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Chapter 1



Introduction

1.1 CULTURE:

The study of culture has been a principal topic of research from early times. Owing to its vast and multidimensional nature, a great deal of literature has been produced on its various aspects.

The term culture is multidimensional and has got a wide range of meanings. Without claiming to provide an exhaustive or indisputable definition, it may be remarked that culture is the index of the progress of human society. It entails the shared patterns or modules for living which pervade all aspects of human social interaction. The perception, interpretation, expression of the people to the social realities around them is well maintained and managed by the culture they share.

According to Eliot (1948:27), culture may be defined simply as that which makes life worth living. He further views culture from three different associations based on the assumption as to what we bear in mind, i.e., as per the development of an individual, or that of a group or class, or that of a whole society.

Culture is a patterned behaviour. The functional prerequisites of a culture include the people, the language, social organization (kinship and network of agreements), and the ideology (belief systems/world view). It is, rather, a diverse term to define, as depicted in the following table:

Diverse definitions of Culture	
Topical	Culture consists of everything on a list of topics, or categories, such as social organization, religion, or economy
Historical	Culture is social heritage, or tradition, that is passed on to future generations
Behavioral	Culture is shared, learned human behaviour, a way of life
Normative	Culture is ideals, values, or rules for living
Functional	Culture is the way humans solve problems of adapting to the environment or living together
Mental	Culture is a complex of ideas, or learned habits, that inhibit impulses and distinguish people from animals
Structural	Culture consists of patterned and interrelated ideas, symbols, or behaviors
Symbolic	Culture is based on arbitrarily assigned meanings that are shared by a society

Table 1.1: Diverse definitions of culture

Thus, it can be gathered that culture represents the acquired knowledge and social behaviour involving shared values, beliefs, and morals. It is manifested in the attitudes and approaches of people. Cultures can be differentiated on the basis such as how people see

themselves, people's relationship to their world or environment, how people view time and space dimension. It is composed of various components such as language, dress code, norms, laws, and values. Culture is understood and passed on by the means of communication through languages.

Culture involves at least three components: what people think, what they do, and the material products they produce. Thus, mental processes, beliefs, knowledge, and values are parts of culture. Some anthropologists would define culture entirely as mental rules guiding behaviour, although often wide divergence exists between the acknowledged rules for correct behaviour and what people actually do. Consequently, some researchers pay most attention to human behaviour and its material products. Culture also has several properties: it is shared, learned, symbolic, transmitted cross-generationally, adaptive, and integrated.

Keeping in view the vast available definitions of culture, it can be stated that culture can be treated as the force that binds people. The learning of culture in a particular society or group affects so profoundly the thoughts, actions, and feelings of people in that group that anthropologists commonly say that individuals are a product of their culture. Every culture has a particular vocabulary or lexicon associated with it. The study of vocabulary, that forms an integral part of the study of culture, makes the route that helps to link the different aspects responsible for the fabrication and association of various concepts of that particular culture.

These two important tools of human existence i.e., language and culture, are interrelated in such a way that the impact of one is clearly

visible on the other. For example, every language has passed through a period of change, and that this change then marks its influence on the particular culture. When a language experiences the process of change, many new words (lexical items) are added to the language. Some words may also be lost. These changes are not observed at a particular time but rather over a period of time.

1.1.1 Kashmiri Culture

The history of the culture of Kashmir is not the creation of a single nation, tribe or group but different nations, groups and tribes have contributed to its formation, from time to time. Kashmir possesses a rich cultural heritage and this versatile, colorful and unique cultural merge, that is a characteristic of the culture of Kashmir, can be easily depicted by the absolute variety and richness of art and architecture, wealth of ancient literature, music, fairs and festivals, rites and rituals, seers and sagas, and languages that thrive amongst the unparalleled cultural cohesion, which is exemplary. Not only the geographical conditions of the area are different but it can also be set apart demographically with varied ethical and social entities, diversity of religions flourishing in the area, different language and cultural forms and heritage albeit with an over-reigning harmony that blends in with the serenity and beauty of the region.

Kashmiri culture is a composite culture consisting of elements and influences, mainly, from India, Iran and Central Asia. Its richness also owes to the fact that it has assimilated elements from some major world religions like Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism. According to Kalla (1985:11), “The culture of Kashmir is said to have been influenced by many civilizations, such as the ancient Indian, the Roman, the Greek and

the Persian. Up to the thirteenth century Hinduism flourished, along with Buddhism. A new social order came into existence at this time with the advent of Islam.” It is a fact that numerous civilizations have, from time to time, come into contact with Kashmir and have left their imprint on the said language and culture. Kashmir has been the highest learning centre of Sanskrit and Persian, and the impact of these languages can be judged by the fact that majority of the vocabulary of Kashmiri belongs to these two languages.

Cultural lexicon entails all the words or lexical items categorized under the term. In case of Kashmir, the cultural lexicon consists of lexical items that represent all the shades of life. It consists of words mostly derived from the categories like festivals, wedding, modes of address, kinship, food, and clothing etc. For example, the words like ‘*va:zva:n*’ (Kashmiri feast), ‘*kāṅgīr*’ (fire-pot), and ‘*pheran*’ (loose gown, cloak) etc. are integrally associated with the cultural identity of Kashmir. Similarly there is uniqueness found in the arts and crafts like shawls, carpets or the papier-mâché products. For instance, the designs of Kashmiri carpets are known for the depiction of the colourful and varied natural sceneries. The Kashmiri kinship terminology is an area of cultural emphasis wherein each relation is defined in an idiosyncratic way. For instance, mother’s sister and father’s sister are termed as ‘*ma:s*’ and ‘*pɔph*’ respectively. Similarly mother’s brother and father’s brother are termed as ‘*ma:m*’ and ‘*petīr*’ in comparison to English language where these relations are defined by single terms of aunt and uncle.

There are a number of festivals celebrated among Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs in Kashmir that add their share to the list of the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri, for example, ‘*i:dul fitīr*’, ‘*i:dul azha*’, ‘*i:di mi:la:d*’, ‘*šabi*

mera:j’, ‘*šabi bara:t*’, ‘*šabi qadir*’, ‘*vorus*’(ziya:rath) and ‘*navro:z*’, etc., are celebrated by Muslims. ‘*ra:mnaymi*’, ‘*diva:li*’, ‘*rakhša bandan*’, ‘*janam aštami:*’, and ‘*maha: šivra:tri*’ (*he:rath*), etc., are celebrated by Pandits, and ‘*besa:khi*’, and ‘*gurupu:rab*’, etc, are celebrated by Sikhs. An appealing feature found in these festivals is inter-communal participation. For example Pandits visit Muslims on the days of ‘*i:dul fitir*’ and ‘*i:dul azha*’, etc. and likewise the Muslims ensure their visits on the days of Hindu festivals like ‘*he:rath*’ etc. The anniversary of ‘*resh pi:r*’ (Pir Pandit Padshah), a Hindu saint, held on the fifth day of the full moon of ‘*besa:kh*’, at his home in Aali kadal area of Srinagar is attended by Muslims also.

The interesting part of the cultural lexicon, in case of Kashmiri, gets displayed by the fact that the Kashmiri society is mainly composed of Muslims and Hindus which is reflected by the scene that Muslims mostly use the vocabulary consisting of the words from Persian and Arabic, and similarly Hindus use the words mainly derived from the Sanskrit. For example, Muslims use ‘*juma:*’, ‘*sava:b*’, ‘*gōnah*’, ‘*janath*’ for Friday, good deed, sin, heaven, while as the Hindus use ‘*šukurva:r*’, ‘*pun’i*’, ‘*pa:p*’, ‘*śorig*’ respectively. So this lexical variation between SK (Sanskritized Kashmiri) and PK (Persianized Kashmiri), as labeled by Kachru (1969:21) is based on the sources of lexical items. In Sanskritized Kashmiri there is a high frequency of Sanskrit items, while in Persianized Kashmiri there are Persian and Arabic borrowings. These two indispensable parts of Kashmiri add color to this beautiful painting of cultural lexicon.

The uniqueness of a particular culture and the lexicon associated with it makes the same an attractive subject for analysis. It is no wonder

then that it has provided a fascinating subject of study for scholars of different domains. Given these facts the present study aims to analyze the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri from an ethnosemantic perspective.

1.2 ETHNOSEMANTICS

Ethnosemantics is the study of how the members of a culture use language to describe certain fundamental and universal classifications; such as, color, kinship, weather, plants, and animals. It is the discipline that investigates the foundations of knowledge and understanding and refers to the study of the standardized semantic structure of a cultural group. The ethnosemantic structure of a group gets reflected and displayed in the discourse of its participants. Ethnosemantic studies revolve around the study of linguistic categorization of differences and specialized terminologies of culture and language.

According to Srivastava (2005: 40), ethnosemantics is the study of meanings attached to specific classes or terms used by members of a group. The term '*ethno*' refers to the fact that a study of a segment of reality from the perspective of the people is being studied. The term '*semantics*' refers to meaning. Thus, ethnosemantics concentrates on the meaning of categories of reality and folk taxonomies to the people who use them as their basis of action. The underlying assumption of ethnosemantics is that the categories designated by a language adequately reflect the entire range of things important to a people within a socio-cultural system.

It began as a critique of ethnographic method and ethnological theory, at Yale in the mid 1950s with "componential analysis" of Kin terms and developed parallel with cognitive psychology in the 1950s and

1960s, in the United States. Initially, ethnosemantics focused on the native's point of view (Malinowski, 1922:21) - how people in particular cultures classify the world. It also aimed to analyze the lexemes that people use to talk about their world and the relationship of these lexemes with each other. In addition to this, one of the major concerns of ethnosemantics was to develop an objective and scientific technique for the study of a culture and its relation with language. Ethnosemantics, as the term in itself suggests, is the study of culture and its associated meaning and, thus, helps to get a glimpse of vast study of the culture.

1.3 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Every society has its own culture, which is recorded, reflected and symbolized by its language. Language and culture evolve and develop together and, therefore, have been interwoven and mutually dependent throughout their history. Neither of them can exist nor develop without the other. Culture includes language while culture, to a great extent, manifests itself in patterns of language.

A language is, undoubtedly, an integral part of culture, and vice-versa. Language expresses, embodies and symbolizes cultural reality: people view their language as a symbol of their social identity. The influence of the two terms, i.e., language and culture, on each other, is so scintillating that it shows its due influence on the way a person thinks about the world. Language, being the most important and essential aspect of culture, plays a very important role in it. A particular language is acquired in a particular cultural setting. Without such a cultural environment, language acquisition is out of question. When we say that language is culturally bound, it means that culture exerts a strong

influence on language, particularly on its semantic structure and its actual use in social communication. That is why a language is said to reflect the life of its people. It reflects almost all the contents of culture, and hence, in a broad sense, culture serves as the symbolic representation because all the knowledge and beliefs that constitute a people's culture are habitually encoded and transmitted in the language of the people. So without language, culture would not be possible.

On the other hand, language is influenced and even shaped by culture. It is well recognized that language is not only a scientific system of linguistic symbols, but also a sociocultural activity. This view can account for the statement that language is culturally transmitted, and that this cultural transmission is one of the important characteristics of human language. It is an attested fact that word meaning is directly related to man's social and cultural experiences which are unique to the members of a particular cultural group. As members of a cultural group share similar social and cultural experiences, the meaning of a word is common to all of them. However, it may be different in certain aspects from the meaning this word has for people of other cultural groups i.e., its word meaning, particularly the meaning of culturally loaded words, may vary in certain aspects from culture to culture.

The interrelationship between language and culture results in the fact that one-to-one equivalence can rarely be established between words in two languages. Words seem to correspond in denotative meaning, but may considerably vary in connotative meaning, emotional meaning and various sociocultural associations they may arouse in different cultural settings. The word dog, for example, may suggest different associations in different cultures.

Many arguments have been put forward to illustrate the interrelationship of language and culture. Edward Sapir, in his article *The Status of Linguistics as a Science* (1929), states that humans are actually at the mercy of the particular language they speak. This article is, in fact, one of the strongest arguments favoring the view that the language we use to talk about awfully influences the way we think about the world. In Sapir's words, "It is quite an illusion to imagine that one adjusts to reality essentially without the use of language and that language is merely an accidental means of solving specific problems in communication or reflection. The fact of the matter is that the 'real world' is to a large extent unconsciously built upon the language habits of the group. No two languages are ever sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same social reality. The worlds in which different societies live are distinct worlds, not merely the same world with different labels attached (Sapir [1929]1949b:162). This position was echoed a decade later by Benjamin Lee Whorf, who framed it as the "*Linguistic Relativity Principle*", by which he meant "that users of markedly different grammars are pointed by the grammars toward different types of observations and different evaluations of extremely similar acts of observation, and hence are not equivalent as observers but must arrive at somewhat different views of the world" (Whorf, 1956: 221 cited in Duranti, 1997:60).

1.4 METHODOLOGY AND DATA COLLECTION

Methodology plays a fundamental role in a research activity. It is largely determined by the nature and demands of the research problem. The type of steps to be applied will depend on the end that is sought to be

achieved. In the present study, the linguistic data was collected through personal meeting of the researcher with the informants and simultaneously interviewing them. For example, the informants were asked various questions related to their profession as in the case of carpet weaving and shawl weaving. Besides the researcher visited various spots like marriage functions, carpet and shawl making institutions etc., and made observations to know different terms related to the marriage ceremony, carpets and shawls etc. This feature of visiting different spots also assisted in the collection of names of different dishes prepared at the time of wedding i.e. *va:zva:n*, various tools that are used in the preparation of *va:zva:n* and the names of various spices that are required for the preparation of the grand feast i.e. *va:zva:n*. Visiting carpet weaving institutions and shawl making institutions also facilitated in the collection of the terms related to this industry like the different types of carpets and shawls made, and the variety of designs of these carpets and shawls etc. All this facilitated in the collection of primary data for the present study.

The data was analyzed, in the present study, to determine the source and linguistic make up of lexical items belonging to the Kashmiri culture etc. Similarly the data was arranged on the basis of synthesis method to compile various semantic fields of Kashmiri cultural lexicon, as synthesis involves the combination of parts into whole. The method of synthesis is also called as the method of exposition. The method of classification facilitated in the compilation of various semantic fields of cultural lexicon of Kashmiri.

Besides this, the present study applied the dimensions of the historical approach. Historical approach consists of the historical data

(mainly consists of the data collected from libraries, dictionaries and archives) and it was helpful to identify the various characteristics of the research problem and create observations conducive to further investigations.

Data collection forms a pivotal part in a research work. For the present study, collection of data was based on primary as well as secondary sources. The primary source of the data includes the observations and interviews, and in this collection of primary data, the informants played a very significant role. Interviews, observations and personal meeting of the researcher with different artisans, craftsmen contributed a lot in the collection of data.

Interviews consisted of a number of questions which facilitated the work to elicit the data comprising different semantic fields. For example, the interview of different artisans and craftsmen, etc., yielded a number of lexical items related to their art and profession. The researcher made observations to be acquainted with the words associated with marriages by attending ceremonies like engagements and weddings in case of Muslim marriages. The information about Pandit marriages is based on the personal meeting of the researcher with the informants belonging to that community.

Besides the primary sources, the data for present work was also collected from secondary sources. It was mainly in the form of historical documents, official documents like the newspapers, public records and a host of books on Kashmiri culture, arts, and other related aspects. In addition to these, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Language* by George A Grierson, *Kashmiri-English Dictionary* by Koul and et al, and, especially the *Kashmiri-Kashmiri dictionary* published, in seven volumes, by the

Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages were also consulted. The lexicon (or vocabulary) of a language is a repository of a great deal of cultural information, as it encapsulates the ways that its speakers see the world, as well as the set of building blocks from which the clauses and sentences of the language are constructed. So, with this vision great care was taken while dealing with the lexical items required for the study.

1.5 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The present study utilizes the ideas and concepts derived from the disciplines like semantics, phonology, ethnolinguistics, ethnography, anthropology (especially linguistic anthropology and cognitive anthropology), and historical linguistics etc.

Semantics is the study of meaning, and phonology is the study of sounds and speech patterns in a language. Ethnolinguistics is concerned with the relationship between language and culture, and the way different ethnic groups perceive the world. Ethnography is the description of a culture usually based on the method of participant observation, and anthropology is the study of humanity.

The concept of the Semantic field approach will be employed to compile, from the collected data, the various fields of the Kashmiri cultural lexicon like kinship and marriage etc. The study will focus on the various sources that have contributed to the formation of Kashmiri cultural lexicon.

Linguistic anthropology is the branch of anthropology that studies humans through the languages they use. Cognitive anthropology is that

branch of anthropology which investigates the cultural knowledge, the knowledge that is embedded in words, stories, and artifacts, etc., and which is learned and shared with other human beings. In addition to these, the concepts of anthropology like culture, family, kinship and marriage are pivotal to the present study.

The study also makes use of the notions and processes from historical linguistics. Historical linguistics is concerned with the study of linguistic change over time in language or in a particular language or language family. The various processes dealt in the present study like semantic change, semantic shift, etc., are direct consequences of the process of language change. The process of semantic change highlights how new meanings arise through language use, i.e., when new meanings are associated to the existing words by shrinking or extended use of language. The process of relexicalization illustrates the manner of renaming different terms and concepts. All these concepts will be used during the current study.

1.6 LITERATURE REVIEW

From 19th century onwards, European and other native scholars started working on different linguistic aspects of Kashmiri. In this regard, earlier works mainly revolved around the preparation of grammatical sketches and glossaries of the language (Edgeworth 1841, Leech 1844, Burkhard 1887, 1888, 1889, Wade 1888). The study of Kashmiri language and its culture has remained the topic of research and interest for a very long time. It has been extensively studied by the foreign authors, scholars and other men of letters, and has equally remained the interest of national and local intelligentsia.

The works of George A Grierson (*The Linguistic Survey of India* 1906, *Essays on Kashmiri Grammar* 1899, *Standard Manual of Kashmiri language-2 Volumes* 1911, *A Dictionary of the Kashmiri Language*, 1916-1932), Walter Lawrence (*The Valley of Kashmir* 1895), and J H Knowles (*A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs and Sayings* 1885, *Kashmiri Riddles* 1887, *Folk Tales of Kashmir* 1893), etc need to be listed in the category of works carried out by foreign scholars.. There is a huge list of works carried out by scholars like O N Koul (*Linguistic Studies in Kashmir* 1977, *A Dictionary of Kashmiri Proverbs* 1992, *The Kashmiri language* 1999), Jawahar Lal Handoo, Lalita Handoo (*Structural Analysis of Kashmiri Folk Tales* 1994), and Braj Kachru (*A Reference Grammar of Kashmiri* 1969, *An Introduction to Spoken Kashmiri* 1973), etc. There are many more names like Rahmaan Rahi (*Kashmiri Shaayri*, 1960-62, *Kahvat*, 1979), M Shafi Shouq (*Look Adab aur Alaamtiyat*, 1975-76, *Europeans on Kashmir (co-editor)* 1997), and G R Malik (*Kashmiri Culture and Literature Some Glimpses* 2006), and Gulshan Majid's, "Iran and Kashmir: A Study in Cultural Links," in M M Masoodi (ed.) *Contribution of Kashmir to Persian Language and Literature* (1-26), that have enriched this field.

Culture and Political History of Kashmir (Bamzia, 2007), *Cultural, Religious and Economic life of Jammu, Kashmir and Ladakh* (Sharma, 2001), *Kashmir, Society and Culture- Encyclopedia of Kashmir Series* (Sharma, Bakshi), and *Cultural Heritage of Kashmir* published by Deans Students' Welfare, University of Kashmir are among the works that have been carried out to highlight different facets of Kashmiri language and culture.

Besides these, there are other works that are very much important from the context of the current study. These include:

- Zainagiri, A.k.Tak. 1967. *Ka:sir'uk ala:Kiva:d phe:Ri Ti Ka:shir Zaba:n* (Regional Variations of Kashmiri and the Kashmiri Language). This work lists variation of some Kashmiri vocabulary items in different regions of the Kashmiri speaking area.
- Grierson, George A.1911. *Standard Manual of Kashmiri Language*. It comprises grammar, phrases and vocabularies to cover a brief grammatical sketch of the Kashmiri language, and also contains texts and vocabulary.
- Grierson, George A. 1919. *Linguistic Survey of India*. Vol.VIII. Part II. In this part, compilation of vocabularies, sketch for grammars of “Kafir and Dardic” languages is presented.
- Pandit, S N 1983. *Kashiren Battan Hindi Rasam Ta Revaj*, published by the Post Graduate Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir, Srinagar. The book gives a comprehensive account of various aspects of the life of the Pandit community including the customs related to their birth, marriage and death.
- Khan, Ghulam Mohammad 1983. *Kashiren Musalmanan Hindi Rasam Ta Revaj*, published by the Post Graduate Department of Kashmiri, University of Kashmir. The book deals with all the important issues related to the birth, death, and the various other aspects relevant to the marriage of the Muslim community like engagement and wedding. Besides an account of the important religious days like *navro:z*, *i:d*, *šabi meraj*, *-bara:t*, and *-qadir* is presented.

- Dr N A Malik's (1993) *Kashmiri Sarmaya-e-Alfaz Ke Sar Chasme* highlights various important sources of Kashmiri language like Arabic, Persian and Urdu, etc.
- *Kaashir Dictionary* (The Kashmiri Dictionary), published by the Jammu and Kashmir Academy of Art, Culture and Languages, in seven volumes-Vol. I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII is truly a treasure in the works done on Kashmiri. The dictionary consists of myriad of words, the phrases and idioms and in most of the cases the etymology of words is also mentioned.
- *KAshiir Ti kAAshur tAhziib* (Kashmir and Kashmiri Culture: A Collection of Essays) published by Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore. The book consists of a number of essays relevant to the Kashmiri culture. The ones that need special mention here include *kāṅgīr* (fire-pot) by S.N.B.Haleem, *kōṅ* (saffron) by S.N.B.Haleem, *athī ka:mi* (hand works) by P.L.Sudeshi, and *paper machie* by P.L.Sudeshi, etc. The other essays in the book are also depiction of different aspects of Kashmiri culture.
- Deambi, B. K. Kaul (Ed.) 1989. *Kashmir and Central Asia*. The book contains two papers of prime importance namely *Persian Influences on Kashmiri Culture with Special Reference to Language* by M. M. Masoodi, and *Identifying Some Uzbek Words in Kashmiri Language-an attempt* by Akhter Mohi-ud-din. The book presents a clear picture of strong Persian influence on Kashmiri.
- Wani. M. A.2004. *Islam in Kashmir (Fourteenth to Sixteenth Century)*. The book gives an account of the 14th, 15th, and 16th centuries of the history of Kashmir, when it witnessed the mass conversion to Islam. The analysis of the processes that accounted for

the momentous religious and cultural change remains the theme of the work.

- *Cultural Glimpses of Kashmir* (2002) by Manzoor Fazili deals with the cultural glimpses which developed in several centuries during the Hindus and the Muslim rulers in Kashmir.
- Koul, Ashok.K.2008. *Lexical Borrowings in Kashmiri*. The book, published by Indian Institute of Language Studies, mainly presents a linguistic study of lexical borrowings from Persian and English to Kashmiri.
- Ahmad, Musavir's research titles ' *A Study of Persian Borrowing into Kashmiri*(2003)' and ' *Language-Culture relationship*(2007)' present an in-depth study of Persian influence on Kashmiri language and culture, and the relationship of language and culture through the study of its folklore etc , respectively.

Lastly, the works that have been gathered as a result of the research carried out on the culture of Kashmir, and the history of the Kashmiri language, from a general point of view will be very important for the present study. The results of these studies, besides other things, will be consulted to identify the various components that are related to the cultural make up of Kashmiri, for example arts and crafts, kinship, etc. And this will facilitate the process of identification of the words that are indispensably integrated to the Kashmiri cultural lexicon.

1.7 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Although a lot of research has been carried out on different aspects of Kashmiri culture, but the study of Kashmiri culture, from linguistic point

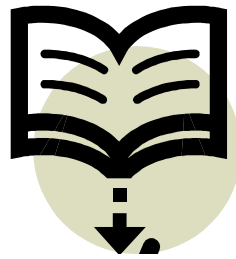
of view in general, and from ethnosemantic point of view in particular, has been a neglected field. It was in this backdrop, that the idea to carry out the present study was conceived. The main objective of the present study is to analyze the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language by using different linguistic techniques and insights. An attempt is made to throw light on different dimensions of cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language and study the changes which it has undergone in the past.

In the introductory chapter, various terms and concepts like culture, ethnosemantics and Kashmiri culture etc are discussed. The second chapter of the study tries to ascertain the various sources like Sanskrit, Persian, and Arabic that have contributed to the formation of the Kashmiri cultural lexicon. The study aims to throw light upon the features of cultural lexicon at various levels, like phonological and morphological level etc, that have contributed to the linguistic make up of the lexicon of Kashmiri culture. The study aims to highlight the comprehensive, versatile and prosperous nature of Kashmiri language and culture. The influence of different religio-political and civilizational currents on the language and culture of Kashmir is depicted by the variegated nature of the word stock. The third chapter is concerned with the compilation and analysis of different semantic fields present in Kashmiri cultural lexicon. The chapter highlights elastic nature of semantic fields, that is, division of semantic fields into sub-semantic fields which can, in turn, function as independent semantic fields. For example, marriage and ‘*va:zva:n*’ (Kashmiri feast), and also the semantic field of arts and crafts consists of a number of components like shawl making, wood carving which can, in turn, function as an independent and individual semantic fields. The fourth chapter makes an attempt to highlight the impact of the processes of language change, in the form of semantic shift and

relexicalization, as found in Kashmiri cultural lexicon. The study, thus, paves a way to the application of these processes of language change to the overall lexicon of Kashmiri. As the present study is concerned with the Kashmiri cultural lexicon, consequently all the processes were highlighted at the level of words like the linguistic make up, and semantic shifts, etc.

The study, mainly, aims to use semantic, rather ethno-semantic, insights. It is hoped that the study will pave way for further studies on Kashmiri culture in general, and cultural lexicon in particular from other different dimensions of linguistics that have been not dealt hitherto.

Chapter 2



Sources and Linguistic Make up of Kashmiri Cultural Lexicon

Lexicon, in a broader sense, is defined as a dictionary, repertoire or compendium. It is derived from the Greek word 'lexis' which means word or phrase. The lexicon is a list of all the words in a language and their definitions. In linguistic terminology, the lexicon of a language is its vocabulary or inventory of lexical items.

The present study is concerned with words constituting the cultural component of Kashmiri i.e., Kashmiri cultural lexicon. This cultural lexicon of Kashmiri has been shaped, from time to time, by different influences from languages like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic etc. These influences came through the processes of language contact and borrowing.

2.1. LANGUAGE CONTACT AND BORROWING

Language contact is the process of interaction between two languages mediated by individuals who speak both the languages and the effects over time of such an interaction on the phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics of each language. According to Weinreich (1968:1), "Two or more languages are said to be contact, if they are used alternatively by the same person." In this regard Koul (2008:18) writes, "Whenever two speech communities come in contact, there is surely to be influence on one or both. But it does not guarantee that one will borrow from the other. Unless the speaker of one language has some motive for the borrowing, and understands the particular utterance of the second language in proper context which contain the model lexical item to be borrowed." It follows

that when speakers of different languages interact closely, it is typical for their languages to influence each other with one language acting as superstratum and other as substratum. In the words of Campbell and Mixco (2007:93), language contact is “the use of more than one language in the same place. More specifically, the influence of one language upon another, and, in the sense most common in historical linguistics, any change due to influence from neighboring languages. Language contact describes the circumstances under which multilingual speakers of two or more contagious languages facilitate the transfer of linguistic traits from one language into another. This process may affect any component of the grammar (that is, phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, lexicon, etc.). The most typical consequence of language contact is lexical borrowing, and such introduced vocabulary may serve as the conduit for other influences.”

This process of language contact results in the process of borrowing. Borrowing is defined as “the process in which a language takes linguistic elements from another language and makes them part of its own. The borrowed elements are typically loanwords, but borrowing is not restricted just to lexical items taken from one language into another: any linguistic material-sounds, phonological rules, grammatical morphemes, syntactic patterns, semantic associations, discourse strategies-can be borrowed, that is, can be taken over so as to become part of the borrowing language.”(*Ibid*, 26) In simpler terms, borrowing is defined as that process in which a language borrows words/ lexical items from another language. Both these processes i.e., language contact and borrowing, are very important with regard to the lexical sources of a language. According to Malmkjær (2004:238), “When a community of speakers incorporates some linguistic element into its language from

another language, linguistic borrowing occurs. Such transferences are most common in the realm of vocabulary, where words may come and disappear with little consequence for the rest of the grammar.”

The process of borrowing may be either fast or slow and there are instances when “some words are borrowed almost overnight, others go through a long intermediary stage; some words are brought in by one bilingual, others are slowly accepted by a large bilingual community before being transferred to the monolingual group”(Grosjean, 1982:334). And that these words become members of that language in an unchanged way or even after some changes in accordance with the structure of the borrowing language.

The different sources of Kashmiri cultural lexicon owe a great deal to the process of borrowing. The new entries in the lexical system of a language owe their existence to a number of processes, and the most important among these is the process of borrowing. Kashmiri, like other languages has borrowed from many languages to meet the demands of the time and to widen its scope. These processes of language contact and borrowing have played an important role in the compilation of cultural lexicon of Kashmiri. As a result of contact with different religio-political and civilizational currents, new words were borrowed from different languages into Kashmiri language.

2.2. SOURCES OF KASHMIRI CULTURAL LEXICON

The multiplicity of sources of the Kashmiri cultural lexicon can be well understood by the fact that Kashmiri language has come in contact with different languages like Sanskrit, Persian, and Urdu, etc., throughout its history. As such the Kashmiri language is a repository containing words

from different sources. In this regard Lawrence (1992[1894] :454) writes, “Most of the learned Kashmiris state that the Kashur vocabulary is a polyglot and that out of every hundred words 25 will be Sanskrit, 40 Persian, 15 Hindustani and 10 Arabic. The remaining 10 will be Tibetan, Turki, Dogri, and Panjabi.”

Due to this language contact, Kashmiri language experienced, at regular intervals, due influence from languages like Persian, Sanskrit and Arabic and, as a result, majority of its cultural vocabulary got derived from these sources. According to Wani (2004:10), “Apart from having the predominance of words having Sanskritic origin, the Kashmiri language is considerably influenced by Persian. If every second word of Kashmiri has Sanskritic origin, the third one is a Persian loan-word.” Besides the Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit based cultural expressions, one cannot overlook the central Asian elements in Kashmiri cultural vocabulary.

An account of the different sources, which make up the repository of Kashmiri cultural lexicon, is given under the following five main headings:

1. Sanskrit
2. Persian
3. Urdu
4. English
5. Other influences

2.2.1. Influence of Sanskrit

Sanskrit has played a vital role in the development of all Indian languages and in the preservation of the cultural heritage of India. Sanskrit is considered to be the core of all Indian languages storing vast knowledge and philosophies of universal order *vis-a-vis* Vedas, Puranas, history of dharma's, philosophy, medicine, astrology, culture, art, and architecture.

Kashmiri language also consists of a good number of lexical items from Sanskrit. The predominance of Sanskrit in Kashmir valley continued until the middle of the 14th century when Islam made its firm establishment in the Valley. It has been “an important communicative and cultural language, between Kashmir and Central Asia, from 300 BC. It is said that Sanskrit spread to the important centres of Central Asia through the scholars and learned men of Kashmir.

Due to extraordinary importance of Sanskrit, it was but natural for Kashmir to have been impressed by Sanskrit language, literature and culture. Because Kashmiri was passing through its initial stages, it began to accept Sanskrit vocabulary. The Sanskrit words have, either in their original shape or in the modified form, become an integral part of the lexical property of Kashmiri”(Malik, 1996:8). The words from Sanskrit language have, nowadays, become an integral part of Kashmiri language.

The words that are derived from the Sanskrit source are categorized into ‘*tatsam*’ and ‘*tadbhav*’. ‘*Tatsam*’ words are those words that are used without any phonetic change, for example ‘*namaska:r*’ (hello), and ‘*pandit*’(scholar) etc., whereas ‘*tadbhav*’ words are used with some phonetic changes, for example, Sanskrit words ‘*ma:ma:’* (mother’s brother/uncle) is used as ‘*ma:m*’, and ‘*kirma:’* (caste) is used as ‘*kra:m*’ in kashmiri.

The following table provides some examples from the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri having Sanskritic origin.

WORD	GLOSS
<i>kāṅgir</i>	fire-pot, brazier
<i>kha:ndar</i>	marriage
<i>mahara:z</i>	bridegroom
<i>mō̃:z</i>	henna dye
<i>kra:m</i>	caste
<i>mō̃zim</i>	middle, go-between
<i>vō̃:j</i>	ring
<i>anihu:r</i>	bachelor
<i>ma:ta:ma:l</i>	maternal home
<i>madan</i>	beloved
<i>luk</i>	people
<i>day</i>	God
<i>zu:n</i>	moon
<i>ba:ginⁱ</i>	share
<i>samsa:r</i>	world
<i>lōgan</i>	wedding hour
<i>ganDun</i>	engagement
<i>mo:l</i>	father
<i>mo:j</i>	mother
<i>ma:m</i>	uncle(mother's brother)
<i>ma:mtur</i>	cousin
<i>ma:stur</i>	cousin
<i>ma:suv</i>	uncle

<i>ma:miṇ'</i>	aunt
<i>pita:</i>	father
<i>pɔph</i>	father's sister/aunt
<i>ma:s</i>	mother's sister/aunt
<i>gevun</i>	song
<i>gḍhni</i>	ornament/s
<i>ga:ṣ</i>	light
<i>patiḥ</i>	mat(grass-mat)
<i>pra:n</i>	shallots
<i>pustak</i>	book
<i>pɔThir</i>	son
<i>pu:za</i>	worship
<i>n'u:l</i>	blue
<i>na:n</i>	bread
<i>da:n</i>	hearth, burning stove
<i>sa:l</i>	wife's sister
<i>khra:v</i>	footwear(wooden)
<i>za:th</i>	caste
<i>za:mitur</i>	son-in-law
<i>tsoT</i>	bread
<i>ba:pa:r</i>	business
<i>ba:ni</i>	utensils

Table 2.1.: Words of Sanskrit Origin

The Sanskrit root of some of these words is given as:

WORD	ROOT
<i>kāṅgir</i>	<i>kāṅgni</i>
<i>khandar</i>	<i>ganaru:</i>
<i>mahara:z</i>	<i>mahara:ja</i>
<i>mō:z</i>	<i>mahandika:</i>
<i>kra:m</i>	<i>kirma:</i>
<i>māzim</i>	<i>mōdhima:</i>
<i>anihu:r</i>	<i>anharša</i>
<i>ma:ta:ma:l</i>	<i>mata:mohalika:</i>
<i>luk</i>	<i>luka</i>
<i>gah</i>	<i>ka:ša</i>
<i>lōgan</i>	<i>lōgni</i>
<i>ganDun</i>	<i>garne:thana:/gōnDi</i>
<i>sab</i>	<i>sabha:</i>
<i>mo:l</i>	<i>maha:tika:</i>
<i>mo:j</i>	<i>ma:ta:</i>
<i>ma:m</i>	<i>ma:ma:</i>
<i>ma:mitur</i>	<i>ma:mitur</i>
<i>ma:stur</i>	<i>ma:trisu:riya</i>
<i>ma:suv</i>	<i>ma:trisu:s</i>
<i>ma:minⁱ</i>	<i>ma:me:n</i>
<i>poph</i>	<i>pophi</i>
<i>ma:s</i>	<i>ma:trisu:sar</i>
<i>gevun</i>	<i>ga:na</i>
<i>gōhni</i>	<i>gharhe:na:</i>
<i>ga:š</i>	<i>ka:ša</i>

<i>patij</i>	<i>pa:tarla:</i>
<i>pra:n</i>	<i>pila:ndu:</i>
<i>pustak</i>	<i>pustika:</i>
<i>pɔThir</i>	<i>putri:</i>
<i>pu:za</i>	<i>pu:ja:</i>
<i>n'u:l</i>	<i>ni:la:</i>
<i>na:n</i>	<i>na:bnōndi:</i>
<i>da:n</i>	<i>dazniay</i>
<i>sa:l</i>	<i>siya:li</i>
<i>za:th</i>	<i>jazti:</i>
<i>za:mitur</i>	<i>jama:tir</i>
<i>ba:pa:r</i>	<i>vo:pazir</i>

Table 2.2.: Sankrit roots

The above examples suffice to portray the significant influence of Sanskrit on the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri in different spheres like marriage, kinship, etc.

2.2.2. Influence of Persian

“The influence of Persian on Kashmiri language dates back to the entry of some Islamic missionaries, and tradesmen into the Valley.”(Koul, 2008:9) These influences are strikingly visible in every aspect of Kashmiri life, whether arts and crafts, dress, diet, architecture, music, manners and customs. It has played a pivotal role in the formation of present culture of Kashmir. Due to the strong influences of this language, Kashmir came to be known as Iran-e-sageer (small Iran).

Writes Masoodi (1989:111-112), “The present dress of the majority of the people of Kashmir like *pheran*, *qemize*, *shalwar*, *sadri*, *chogha*, *qiba*, etc., owe their introduction to Persian influence. The head dress of Kashmiri women called ‘*kasaba*’ and ‘*burqa*’ (Kashmiri) was also introduced by Persian immigrants, besides, enriching their stock of ornaments like, ‘*ring*’ (ring), *guluband*(a neck ornament), *goshwar*(an ear ring), *dastband*(an armlet), *sarwar*(another ornament used in arm), *pazeb* or *khalkhal*(an ornament of legs) etc. The modern Kashmiri wazwaan which constitutes such delicious dishes like *yakhni*, *rista*, *qabab*, *tabakmaz*, *pulav*, *harisa*, *bakerkhani*, *nan* and pottery like *samawar*, *sarposh*, *bushzab*, *finjan*, *surahi*, *kashuk*, etc., also found way in the valley for the first time during the period of Sultans and the credit for popularizing these dishes goes to Persian immigrants.”

The influence of Persian culture made a strong impact almost on every facet of the Kashmiri culture. Kashmiris were also fascinated by the vocal and instrumental music of Persia. According to Masoodi (*Ibid*: 112-113), “Such musical instruments like *rabab*, *sitar*, *duhal*, *duff*, *mizmar*, *surnay*, and *chang* were also introduced by the immigrant musicians of Persia.”

The famous arts and crafts of Kashmir, like shawl weaving, carpet weaving, papier-mâché and wood carving, etc., were introduced for the first time from Persia during the era of sultans, particularly during the reign of Zain-ul-Abidin. The influence of Persian on Kashmiri language grew stronger “during the Chak, Mughal and Afghan periods, when the native poets began to write in Persian along with Kashmiri. These poets borrowed Persian forms, methods, diction and themes that exposed Kashmiri to new horizons and made it Persianized.” (Malik, 1996: 10)

The Persian influence was visible in almost all the spheres of life, be it art, music, dance, architect, or language. Most of the literary works of the Kashmiri writers, poets have been done in this language as, “the Kashmiri scholars switched over to the study of Persian, which became the language of educated elite class and even found its way into the villages.” (Koul, 2008:10)

In brief, the word stock of Kashmiri culture has a huge collection of words belonging to the categories of art, music, dance, architecture, technology and other spheres of life. Following are some of the examples of the words of Kashmiri cultural lexicon that are derived from Persian source:

WORD	GLOSS
<i>dasta:r</i>	turban
<i>nišĉ:n^j</i>	engagement
<i>na:bad</i>	sweet sugar balls or crystals
<i>tabakhma:z</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>rojanjo:š</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>kormi</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>yakhin^j</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>a:bgo:š</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>kuphti</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>risti</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>gošta:bi</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>pola:v</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>mutjan</i>	a dish of Kashmiri wazwaan
<i>sa:z</i>	a musical instrument
<i>raba:b</i>	a musical instrument

<i>nay</i>	a musical instrument
<i>sornay</i>	a musical instrument
<i>sontu:r</i>	a musical instrument
<i>čaŋ</i>	a musical instrument
<i>tombur</i>	a musical instrument
<i>gumbad</i>	dome
<i>šešband</i>	a type of roof/paneling
<i>vōru:si</i>	wooden panel partition
<i>mi:na:r</i>	minarats
<i>mahar</i>	dower
<i>niya:z</i>	alms
<i>kō:zʲ</i>	judge
<i>kha:nikah</i>	shrine
<i>ō:lim</i>	scholar/s; learned in Islamic knowledge
<i>kha:nda:r</i>	husband/house-keeper
<i>kha:nda:rinʲ</i>	generic term used for wife
<i>sarpoš</i>	lid, cover
<i>šō:miya:ni</i>	tent
<i>zarba:ph</i>	kind of cloth
<i>guloband</i>	muffler
<i>pōša:kh</i>	dress
<i>pōza:r</i>	footwear
<i>pi:r</i>	saint
<i>de:gčī</i>	cooking-pot
<i>kha:ni</i>	family
<i>khōji</i>	rich/wealthy/trader

<i>dargah</i>	shrine
<i>mohar</i>	gift
<i>malimal</i>	kind of cloth
<i>dastka:r</i>	artisan
<i>dasta:nĭ</i>	gloves
<i>tša:dar</i>	shawl
<i>o:khu:n</i>	teacher
<i>pô:ja:mĭ</i>	trouser

Table 2.3. Words of Persian Origin

The table clearly shows that a large number of lexical items of Kashmiri culture have made their way through the Persian language.

Apart from these words, there are other sources like Arabic that have contributed to the cultural lexicon of Kashmir via Persian. Some of such examples are under:

TERM	GLOSS
<i>assala:mualaykum</i>	mode of greeting among Muslims
	welcome
<i>istekba:l</i>	dower
<i>mahar</i>	marriage contract
<i>nika:h</i>	big plate
<i>majmi</i>	veil
<i>naka:b</i>	invitation
<i>da:vat</i>	mosque
<i>môšĭ:d</i>	

<i>muri:d</i>	disciple
<i>mehra:b</i>	arch
<i>roki</i>	invitation card
<i>kosib</i>	art

Table 2.4.: Words of Arabic Origin

2.2.3. Influence of Urdu

Urdu holds a place of great importance in Kashmir. It is the official language of the Jammu and Kashmir state, and was used as the medium of instruction in the field of education in the state up to 2003. The language is taught right from the primary classes, and is available as a subject at school, college and university levels. Urdu has proved to be the literary language to the people of the Kashmir, irrespective of religion, caste and creed.

Urdu has played a dominant role in Kashmir, be it education, administration or media etc. Urdu, to a great extent, continues to serve as the administrative language of Kashmir. Srinagar branch of Doordarshan telecasts programmes in Urdu which includes news, songs and other programmes. Similarly Radio Kashmir, Srinagar mostly broadcasts programmes in Urdu language, which again includes songs, news bulletins and other programmes. The print media of Kashmir is also greatly influenced by Urdu, and this is reflected by the fact that the number of dailies published here in Urdu language is seventy four (74: offset-40, litho-34, Source: Jammu and Kashmir State Information Department). There is no wonder that a large number of words of Kashmiri cultural lexicon are derived from the source of Urdu. Following

are some of the examples of words that are derived from the Urdu language:

Word	Gloss
<i>da:da:/da:du:</i>	paternal grandfather
<i>na:na:/na:nu:</i>	maternal grandfather
<i>na:ni:</i>	maternal grandmother
<i>da:di:</i>	paternal grandmother
<i>ba:ji</i>	sister/sister-in-law
<i>ba:bi:</i>	sister
<i>di:di:</i>	sister
<i>bayya:</i>	brother
<i>ba:yija:n</i>	brother
<i>ba:yi</i>	brother
<i>ka:To:ri</i>	bowl
<i>čamča</i>	spoon
<i>tha:li:</i>	plate

Table 2.5.: Words of Urdu Origin

2.2.4. Influence of English

English is the language that has acquired the status of global language. Owing to its global status it has become a necessity in present day world. The influence of English on Kashmiri is an outcome of the language contact between the Britishers and the Kashmiris, setting up of English educational institutions, and also the use of English in education, administration, etc. Writes Koul (2008:15), “A large number of English loan words were adopted in Kashmiri unchanged, which included the

words for foreign innovations, European dresses, dishes, medicines, games, sports, etc. The loan words like radio, bus, car, houseboat, hotel, coat, tie, lunch, dinner, etc., started frequently being used in Kashmiri as such terms did not exist in Kashmiri earlier.” Besides this, a large chunk of words got introduced in Kashmiri because of Christian Missionaries. They made a significant contribution “in introducing English education system which was much different from the religious educational institutions like *Maktabas* and *Pathshalas* run by the Muslims and Hindus, respectively”(Ibid, 14).

Some of the examples of words derived from the source of English are:-

telephone

radio

house boat

hotel

coat

sweater

jacket

pant

shirt

trouser

slippers

boot

muffler

tie

lunch

dinner

breakfast

pizza

fudge

burger

black forest

white forest

pastry

chocolate

cake

plum cake

fruit cake

brother

sister

papa

mumma

uncle

aunty

cousin

madam

master

scarf

cup

pound

frock

jumper

family

cooking-gas

tea-set

lighting gas

kettle

chenille

georgette

Majority of these words have been nativized as in the case of ‘*po:nD*’ (pound/gold coin), ‘*sika:ruph*’ (scarf), ‘*ko:Th*’(coat), ‘*ja:keT*’(jacket), ‘*ketil*’(kettle), ‘*šeni:l*’ (chenille), ‘*ja:rjaTh*’ (georgette), and ‘*phira:kh*’ (frock) etc.

The above account shows that the words mostly belong to the categories like means of travel, kinship, modes of address, and information technology, which are integral to the category of lexical items belonging to culture.

2.2.5. Other Influences

There are other languages, besides Sanskrit, Persian, Urdu and English that have contributed to the Kashmiri cultural lexicon, though in smaller proportions, for example, Uzbek, and Turkish etc.

Akhter Mohiddin(1989:131), in his paper *Identifying Some Uzbek Words in the Kashmiri Language-An Attempt* , has identified some Uzbek words in Kashmiri, and most of them fill the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri. He attributes the borrowing of these words to the deeper links that existed between Kashmir and Central Asia in the past, and as such the influences of the Central Asian languages on Kashmiri cannot be ignored.

Some of the words, as per the account provided by Akhter, that belonging to this category of Uzbek source as under:

sama:va:r (samovar),

kulči (crisp baked bread)

rojanjo:š (a dish)

kaba:b(minced mutton rolls)

hōr'si (mutton ribs)

Besides these words, there are some other words in Kashmiri cultural lexicon that have been derived from the Turkish source like

'kōrmi' (a dish in *wazwaan*),

'ka:švi' (spoon/s)

'kō:li:n' (carpets) etc.

The cultural lexicon of Kashmiri has been derived from different sources. The languages that have enriched it include Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Urdu and English etc.

2.3. LINGUISTIC MAKE UP OF KASHMIRI CULTURAL LEXICON

Linguistics is the scientific study of language. It encompasses a number of sub-fields like morphology (the formation and composition of words), syntax (the rules that determine how words combine into phrases and sentences) and phonology (the study of sound systems and abstract sound units).

Linguistic make up of a language is studied by analyzing language at these levels i.e. phonology, morphology and syntax, etc. The present study is based on the lexical items that belong to the Kashmiri culture. The linguistic analyses of these lexical items will be carried out at the phonological and morphological levels.

2.3.1. Analysis at Phonological Level:

Phonology is the branch of linguistics which studies the sound systems of languages (Crystal, 2003: 350). It is the systematic use of sound to encode meaning in any spoken human language, or the field of linguistics studying this use. Just as a language has syntax and vocabulary, it also has phonology in the sense of a sound system. According to Gargesh (1990:132), “Phonology as a branch of linguistics identifies distinctive sound groups in a language, and establishes how these are put together to form meaningful sequences. It also identifies ways in which the phonetic elements of a language are grouped together and exploited by the speakers of a language to effect communication.”

The linguistic make up of Kashmiri cultural lexicon at phonological level is studied with respect to syllabic structure, Consonant clusters and sound changes.

2.3.1.1 Syllabic structure:

The phonological system of a language is mainly based on its syllabic structure. According to Crystal (2003:447), syllable is “a unit of pronunciation typically larger than a single sound and smaller than a word.” A minimal syllable consists of a Vowel, which forms the nucleus of the syllable. The number of Vowels present in a word is directly proportional to the number of syllables in it. A word consisting of a single syllable, two syllables and more than two syllables are termed as monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic words respectively.

The syllabic structure of Kashmiri cultural lexicon is distinguished into three main types viz. monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic as:

I) Monosyllabic Patterns

Monosyllabic pattern is shown by the combinations of

Consonant+ Vowel +Consonant (cvc),

For example,

<i>mo:l</i>	father
<i>ma:s</i>	mother's sister, aunt
<i>ma:m</i>	mother's brother, uncle
<i>pɔph</i>	father's sister, aunt
<i>ku:r</i>	daughter, girl

<i>zur</i>	son's daughter, daughter's daughter, grand daughter
<i>bo:y</i>	brother
<i>thaph</i>	catch hold/ring ceremony
<i>sab</i>	meeting
<i>lejⁱ</i>	cooking pot
<i>bab</i>	father
<i>sa:l</i>	wife's sister
<i>da:n</i>	burning stove/hearth
<i>na:n</i>	bread
<i>pi:r</i>	saint
<i>zu:j</i>	head dress of women
<i>pu:ts</i>	head dress of women
<i>kor</i>	bangle

II) Disyllabic Patterns

Disyllabic pattern is shown by the combinations of

Consonant+ Vowel +Consonant+ Vowel (cvcv)

<i>pa:pi</i>	father
<i>da:di:</i>	grandfather/father's father
<i>na:ni</i>	grandfather/mother's father

<i>ba:bi</i>	father
<i>pu:za:</i>	worship
<i>ma:su v</i>	uncle

Consonant+ Vowel+ Consonant+ Vowel+ Consonant (cvcvc)

<i>nika:h</i>	marriage contract
<i>zô:pa:n</i>	sedan chair
<i>lôgan</i>	wedding hour
<i>kaba:b</i>	minced meat rolls
<i>kasa:b</i>	head dress of women
<i>ma:minⁱ</i>	mother's brother's wife,aunt
<i>pečⁱnⁱ</i>	father's brother's wife,aunt
<i>pheran</i>	outer loose garment, cloak
<i>raba:b</i>	a musical instrument
<i>sita:r</i>	a musical instrument
<i>yeza:r</i>	trouser
<i>pô:za:r</i>	foot wear
<i>zana:n</i>	wife
<i>sabiz</i>	green
<i>dapun</i>	invitation
<i>khabar</i>	news/gift
<i>mohar</i>	gift/s

<i>nika:b</i>	veil
<i>gevun</i>	song
<i>pɔla:v</i>	a dish in wazwaan
<i>niya:z</i>	alms
<i>tɔ:vi:z</i>	amulet
<i>TaThul</i>	big round bowl
<i>rasim</i>	custom

Consonant+ Vowel+ Consonant+ Consonant+ Vowel (cvccv)

<i>kuphti</i>	minced meat ball
<i>risti</i>	mutton ball
<i>takhti</i>	wooden block,slab
<i>majmi</i>	big plate
<i>burki</i>	veil
<i>gahni</i>	ornament/s

Consonant+ Vowel+ Consonant+ Consonant+ Consonant+ Vowel+

Consonant (cvccvc)

<i>dastka:r</i>	artisan
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**Consonant+ Vowel+ Consonant +Consonant+ Vowel+ Consonant
(cvccvc)**

<i>zarba:f</i>	kind of cloth
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<i>kemkha:b</i>	kind of cloth
<i>malimal</i>	kind of cloth
<i>vanivun</i>	songs, especially wedding songs
<i>gañDun</i>	engagement
<i>dasta:r</i>	turban
<i>dargah</i>	shrine
<i>sarpo:š</i>	lid
<i>gumbad</i>	dome
<i>mezma:n</i>	host
<i>makhmal</i>	kind of cloth
<i>bôsrakh</i>	sweet round hollow flour ball
<i>tsô:gi</i>	round mat (usually made of thatch and meant for sitting of a single person)

Vowel+Consonant+Consonant+Vowel+Consonant(vccvc)

<i>anihur</i>	bachelor
<i>oktso:r</i>	burning stove made of mud

III) Trisyllabic Patterns

The trisyllabic pattern, in case of Kashmiri cultural lexicon, is shown by the combinations of:

Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel
(cvcvcv)

kora:bi sleeves of 'pheran'(loose-gown)

lava:si bread

Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant
+ Consonant + Vowel + Consonant (cvccvccvc),

ka:rkha:nda:r shawl maker/manufacturer

Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Consonant
+ Vowel + Consonant (cvcvccvc)

tabakhma:z a dish in wazwaan(kashmiri feast)

Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel +
Consonant + Consonant (cvcvcvcc)

guloband muffler

Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant
+ Vowel+ Consonant (cvccvccvc)

vā:kīpan braid thread

**Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant
+ Vowel (cvccvcv)**

gošta:bi

a dish in *wazwaan*

**Consonant + Vowel + Consonant +Vowel + Consonant + Vowel+
Consonant (cvcvcvc)**

za:mitur

son-in-law

sika:ruph

scarf

gul'm'u:Th

gift/s

**Consonant + Vowel + Consonant +Vowel + Consonant + Vowel +
Consonant+ Vowel (cvcvcvcv)**

mahara:zi

bridegroom

**Consonant + Vowel + Consonat + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant +
Vowel (cvccvcv)**

khɔrba:ni

footwear

2.3.1.2 Consonant Clusters:

Consonant cluster is defined as a group or sequence of Consonants that appear together in a syllable without a Vowel between them. The cultural lexicon of Kashmiri consists of a number of instances that exemplify the presence of Consonant clusters at word initial and word medial positions as shown below:

i) Word initial

<i>kh</i>	<i>khra:v</i>	wooden footwear
<i>dr</i>	<i>druy</i>	brother-in-law
<i>pr</i>	<i>pra:n</i>	shallots
<i>kr</i>	<i>kra:m</i>	caste

ii) Word medial

<i>nd</i>	<i>kha:ndar</i>	marriage
<i>rp</i>	<i>sarpoš</i>	lid, cover
<i>sp</i>	<i>go:špa:r</i>	wooden hammer
<i>nd</i>	<i>gañDun</i>	engagement
<i>lč</i>	<i>dalči:n</i>	cinnamon
<i>lh</i>	<i>puliho:r</i>	foot wear
<i>sp</i>	<i>daspa:kh</i>	hand wash
<i>rb</i>	<i>zarba:f</i>	kind of cloth
<i>stk</i>	<i>dastka:r</i>	artisan
<i>jm</i>	<i>majmi</i>	big plate
<i>gč</i>	<i>de:gči</i>	small cooking pot
<i>st</i>	<i>risti</i>	mutton balls
<i>ft</i>	<i>kuphti</i>	minced mutton balls
<i>sb</i>	<i>izband</i>	wild rue
<i>nh</i>	<i>anihur</i>	bachelor
<i>lm</i>	<i>malmal</i>	kind of cloth

<i>rg</i>	<i>dargah</i>	shrine
<i>gr</i>	<i>rangre:z</i>	dyer
<i>čk</i>	<i>ačkan</i>	a long button up coat
<i>mt</i>	<i>ma:mītur</i>	cousin
<i>lph</i>	<i>kulphi:</i>	ice-cream
<i>kht</i>	<i>takhti</i>	wooden slab

2.3.1.3 Vowel Sequences

The Vowel sequences are not so common in case of Kashmiri cultural lexicon. Koul and Wali (2009:18) write that “the combination of some Vowel sequences like /ui/, /u:i/, and /o:ə/ are to be treated as diphthongs.” The example of Vowel sequences, as found in cultural lexicon of Kashmiri, is as follows:

assalamualaykum mode of greeting

2.3.1.4 Nativization

In Kashmiri cultural lexicon, a large number of words are nativized by means of changes (both Vowel as well as Consonant). For example

i) Dropping of final Consonant as in

tasht : *tash* (nativized) ‘ewer’

guft: *guf* (nativized) ‘talk’

- ii) Dropping of medial Vowel as in

rafugar: rafgar(nativized) ‘fine drawer’

- iii) Dropping of final Vowels as in

naqa:ti: naqa:t (nativized) ‘dot maker’

qasa:bi: qasa:b (nativized) ‘head dress of women’

- iv) Dropping of medial Vowel and Consonant as in:

mutanjan: mutjan(nativized) ‘a dish in *wazwaan*’

- v) Changing one Vowel with another, as in:

čikin: čikan(nativized) ‘embroider’

- vi) Changing one Consonant with another one, as in

na:bat: na:bad(nativized) ‘sugar-balls’

2.3.2. ANALYSIS AT MORPHOLOGICAL LEVEL:

Morphology is that branch of linguistics which is concerned with analysing the structure of words, and deals with morphemes and their operation in a word. The morphology of a given word is its structure or form.

The analysis of the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri at the morphological level shows the presence of processes like compounding, echo formation and affixation, etc.

2.3.2.1 Compounding:

Compounding or compound formation is the process in which two or more words are joined together to make a new word. Marchand(1969:11) talks of compounding as occurring when two or more words combine into a morphological unit, and Adams (1979:30) refers to the combination of two free forms, or words that have an otherwise independent existence (As cited in Malmkjær,2004:359,360).

The cultural lexicon of Kashmiri comprises of different types of compounds which are derived from different sources like Arabic+Persian, Persian+Sanskrit, Persian+Kashmiri, Sanskrit+Arabic, English+Arabic, Arabic+ English, and also the compounds which are derived from same source like Persian+Persian, and Sanskrit+Sanskrit.

There are many examples of the process of compounding found in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri like

<i>nika:h + niš̌o:nʲ</i>	Arabic+Persian
<i>na:bad+ niš̌o:nʲ</i>	Persian+Persian
<i>nika:h+ ka:kud</i>	Arabic+ Persian
<i>mō̃:z+ra:t</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>mahara:z+sab</i>	Sanskrit+Arabic

<i>phir+lath</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>sa:th+namī</i>	Arabic+Persian
<i>athī+va:s</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>das+pa:kh</i>	Persian+Persian
<i>kadli+ta:r</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>house+boat</i>	English+English
<i>waist+coat</i>	English+English
<i>sa:z+sōndu:k</i>	Persian+Arabic
<i>leji+kaba:b</i>	Kashmiri+Persian
<i>nišō:n^j +mahren^j</i>	Persian+Sanskrit
<i>si:kh+kaba:b</i>	Persian+Persian
<i>ifta:r+party</i>	Arabic+English
<i>mō:zi+majmī</i>	Sanskrit+Arabic

2.3.2.2 Echo forms

An echo word as a term refers to a particular kind of reduplication. These echo words are characterized by reduplication of a complete word or phrase, with the initial segment or syllable of the reduplicant being overwritten by a fixed segment or syllable. In most languages in which this phenomenon is present, echo words serve to express a meaning of "... and such; and things like that." The process of echo formation is commonly applied in spoken form of language. So, this echo formation is shown in the form of partial reduplication. The partially repeated form of the base word is an echo word. Partially in the sense that either the initial

phoneme which can be either Vowel or Consonant, or syllable of a base word is replaced by another phoneme or syllable. The replaced unit is called as ‘replacer’.

Usually the sound ‘v’ acts as replacer in Kashmiri cultural lexicon, but for the words starting with ‘v’ the sound ‘p’ acts as replacer, and this replacer makes the sense of ‘and the like’. Some of the examples are given below:

i) The initial Consonants other than /p/ of the word stem are replaced by /v/ as in:

<i>Nika:h</i>	<i>Vikah</i>	marriage contract
<i>kha:ndar</i>	<i>vandar</i>	marriage
<i>nišḍ:nʲ</i>	<i>višḍ:nʲ</i>	engagement
<i>hḍ:zi:ri:</i>	<i>hḍ:zi:ri:</i>	response
<i>dasta:r</i>	<i>vasta:r</i>	turban
<i>gulʲmʲu:th</i>	<i>vuʲlʲmʲu:th</i>	gifts
<i>sa:l</i>	<i>va:l</i>	invitation
<i>sab</i>	<i>vab</i>	meeting
<i>khabar</i>	<i>vabar</i>	news
<i>thaph</i>	<i>vaph</i>	catch hold
<i>kaba:b</i>	<i>vaba:b</i>	minced mutton roll
<i>risti</i>	<i>visti</i>	mutton ball
<i>ma:m</i>	<i>va:m</i>	uncle
<i>ma:s</i>	<i>va:s</i>	aunt
<i>petir</i>	<i>vetir</i>	uncle
<i>beni</i>	<i>veni</i>	sister

<i>bo:y</i>	<i>vo:y</i>	brother
<i>be:mi</i>	<i>ve:mi</i>	brother-in-law
<i>kāṅgir</i>	<i>vāṅgir</i>	fire pot,
<i>majmi</i>	<i>vajmi</i>	big plate
<i>trô:m</i>	<i>vô:m</i>	plate
<i>izband</i>	<i>visband</i>	wild rue

ii) The Initial /v/ of the word stem is replaced by /p/ in the echo word

<i>vaguv</i>	<i>paguv</i>	mat
<i>voT</i>	<i>poT</i>	porch, verandah

iii) The initial Consonant cluster is replaced by a single Consonant /v/ in the echo word as in:

<i>druy</i>	<i>vuy</i>	Brother-in-law
<i>khra:v</i>	<i>va:v</i>	Wooden footwear
<i>pra:n</i>	<i>va:n</i>	shallots

2.3.2.3 Affixation

Affixation, literally, means the act of attaching or affixing something. It is defined as the process which involves the formation of a word by means of an affix, i.e., the addition of a prefix, suffix, or infix to a word in order to create a new word.

Affixation is present in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri mainly in the form of suffixation and prefixation as shown below:

Suffixation:

Suffix is an affix added to the end of a word or stem, serving to form a new word, and the process of attaching suffixes is labelled as suffixation. Following are some of the examples of suffixation in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language:

i) –da:r

-daar is used as a suffix especially to denote the shapes and designs, for example, in shawl making and carpet making. Some of the examples include:

Examples in the designs/shapes of shawls

<i>pali+ da:r</i>	a design that is spread over edges
<i>ba:da:m+ da:r</i>	almond shaped design
<i>ni:m+ da:r</i>	a design with small flowers
<i>be:l+ da:r</i>	floral design

Examples in the designs/shapes of carpets

<i>gamli+ da:r</i>	a design depicting flower pots
<i>mehra:b+ da:r</i>	dome shaped design
<i>šama:+ da:r</i>	candle shaped design
<i>phil+ da:r</i>	design with small borders

ii) –tir

This suffix is used to denote the feminine terms of kinship terminology as given

ma:mi+tir mother's brother's daughter/cousin

ma:s+tir mother's sister's daughter/cousin

pi+tir father's brother's daughter/cousin

pɔph+tir father's sister's daughter/cousin

iii) –tur

-tur is used to denote the masculine terms of Kinship terminology as:

pɔph+tur father's sister's son/cousin

pi+tur father's brother's son/cousin

ma:s+tur mother's sister's son/cousin

ma:mi+tur mother's brother's son

za:mi+tur son-in-law

iv) –band

-band is used as a suffix to designate the items of apparels like:

gulo+ band a neck ornament

v) –thir

This suffix is used in the terms related to kinship as:

ba:b+thir

brother's son/nephew

beni+thir

sister's son/nephew

Prefixation:

Prefix is an affix which is placed before the stem of a word, and this process of attaching prefixes is known as prefixation. The cultural lexicon of Kashmiri shows the presence of limited number of prefixes. For example, **phir**-this prefix finds its use in the terms of wedding/marriage as:

phir+sa:l

first visit of bride and groom to

Brides' home after marriage

phir+lath

second visit of bride and groom

To brides' parents

2.3.2.4 Gender

Following the normal pattern of Kashmiri language, gender is masculine or feminine in case of the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri. Some of the examples are:

a) Masculine gender:

<i>Kha:ndar</i>	marriage
<i>nika:h</i>	marriage contract
<i>dasta:r</i>	turban
<i>sa:l</i>	invitation

<i>sama:va:r</i>	samovar
<i>sarpoš</i>	lid
<i>môjmi</i>	big plate
<i>takhti</i>	wooden block

b) Feminine:

<i>nišô:n^j</i>	engagement
<i>kāŋgir</i>	fire pot
<i>roksôti</i>	fare well
<i>sab</i>	meeting
<i>hô:zi:ri:</i>	response
<i>thaph</i>	catch hold
<i>mô:z</i>	dye(henna)
<i>trô:m</i>	plate

Gender formation derives masculine and feminine forms by the addition of suffixes like –uv, and –in, etc, as:

i) Masculine forms: in this case, the feminine forms are taken as base. The addition of suffix –uv results in the formation of masculine forms. For example

Feminine base	Suffix	Derived masculine form
<i>ma:s</i> (mother's sister/ aunt)	-uv	<i>ma:suv</i> (mother's sister's husband/uncle)
<i>po:ph</i> (father's sister/	-uv	<i>po:phuv</i> (father's sister's

The addition of ‘i’ at the word final position results in plural forms as shown:

<i>de:gi</i>	cooking pots
<i>pɔphi</i>	father’s sisters/aunts
<i>nišɔnⁱ</i>	engagements
<i>zana:n</i>	lady
<i>zamitur</i>	son-in-law
<i>kāṅgir</i>	fire pot

The above terms show some sound changes to form plurals as in:

<i>niša:nⁱ</i>	engagements
<i>zana:ni</i>	ladies
<i>zamitirⁱ</i>	sons-in-law
<i>kāṅgiri</i>	fire pots

2.3.2.6 Conjunct verbs

Conjunct verbs are derived by the addition of certain set of verbs to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs. There are limited examples of conjunct verbs present in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri, for example

‘ <i>mɔ̃:z- la:gin</i> ’	to apply henna dye
‘ <i>dasta:r- ganDun</i> ’	to fix or adjust turban
‘ <i>mas -mitsra:vun</i> ’	to open up hair
‘ <i>masa:li-dagun</i> ’	to grind spices

Conclusion:

The present chapter aims to highlight the different sources of Kashmiri cultural lexicon in the form of languages like Sanskrit, Persian, and Urdu etc. The word stock of cultural lexicon of Kashmiri consists of a number of lexical items belonging to these sources. The chapter made an attempt to know about the linguistic make up of Kashmiri cultural lexicon. In this regard, analysis was carried out at the phonological level and morphological level. The analysis at the phonological level illustrated the presence of syllabic structures, Consonant clusters, Vowel sequences and nativization. The syllabic structure is shown in the form of monosyllabic (e.g., Consonant + Vowel + Consonant), disyllabic (e.g., Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel), and Trisyllabic (e.g., Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel + Consonant + Vowel) patterns. The Consonant clusters are present at the word-initial, and word-medial positions. Compounding, echo formation, gender, number, conjunct verbs and affixation are the features found by the analysis at the morphological level. The process of compounding consisted of various combinations like Arabic + Persian, Arabic + English, Persian + Sanskrit and even the same source languages like Sanskrit + Sanskrit.

Chapter 3



Analyzing Cultural Lexicon of Kashmiri Language: A Semantic Field Approach

3.1. Introduction to meaning:

Meaning has been studied for thousands of years and has been described in a variety of ways by scholars. Plato believed that words or phrases related directly to the actual objects they pick out. Aristotle was of the opinion that relationship between words and the world is indirect, mediated by social convention. Gottlob Frege drew a distinction between the sense of a linguistic expression and its reference (the thing in the world that it picks out). So the meaning of a natural language expression is equivalent to both sense and reference; for example, the phrases 'the morning star' and 'the evening star' have different senses, but both have the same reference – namely, the planet Venus.

Given this backdrop we find various theories of meaning which have been proposed to discuss the notion of meaning.

Theories of meaning

Different theories of meaning can be distinguished, according to how they deal with the relation between words, concepts and things in the world, and the conventions that are constitutive of this relation. Some of them are as under:

- i) Denotational theory of meaning
- ii) Mentalist theory of meaning
- iii) Use theory of meaning
- iv) Truth conditional theory of meaning
- v) Componential theory of meaning

vi) Field theory of meaning

i) Denotational theory of meaning: This theory defines meaning in the form of following statement:

The meaning of each expression is the (actual) object it denotes, its denotation.

The Denotational theory holds true for proper names like 'India', and definite descriptive noun phrases such as 'the present president of the United States', where the meaning is directly related to the things they denote.

ii) Mentalist theory of meaning: This theory of meaning can be formulated in the form of following statement:

The meaning of each expression is an idea (or ideas) associated with that expression in the minds of speakers.

This theory of meaning states that if meanings are not actual objects, perhaps they are mental objects. For example, the use of the word 'donkey', for a person who has committed a silly mistake, actually connotes the image and ideas related to donkey i.e. foolishness and stupidity.

iii) Use theory of meaning: Use theory of meaning, as advanced by Ludwig Wittgenstein in 1930s can be formulated as:

The meaning of an expression is determined by its use in the language community.

For example, the meaning of the word 'hello' is determined by its use, and not by any denotation or by some mental images associated with it.

iv) Truth-conditional theory: The truth-conditional theory aims to explain the meaning in terms of all the entailment relations between sentences in the language. According to Leech (1983:73), "Many semanticists today assume that the main purpose of semantics is to explain that primary, conceptual aspect of meaning called 'conceptual' or 'logical' meaning, and that in particular we have to account for certain semantic categories and relationships which apply to sentences: synonymy, entailment, contradiction, semantic anomaly etc. These may be taken to be intuitively 'given'. They can be called BASIC STATEMENTS...because semantics has to explain them, by constructing theories from which they can be deduced."

Basic statements refer to those logical propositions which are either true or false, and that the truth or falsity of a basic statement is dependent upon the truth or falsity of other statements. Basic statements relate to other statements in terms of the relations like synonymy, entailment, contradiction, tautology, and anomaly etc. as follows:

Synonymy- when statement 'X' is true and statement 'Y' is also true; and when 'X' is false, then 'Y' is also false. In this case statement 'X' and statement 'Y' are synonymous. For example, 'he is married' is synonymous with 'he has a wife'.

Entailment-statement 'X' entails statement 'Y' when if 'X' is true, 'Y' is also true; if 'X' is false, and 'Y' is also false. 'He is married' entails 'he has a wife'. (Entailment and synonymy are similar)

Contradiction-when statement 'X' is invariably false. For example, 'an orphan has a father'.

Tautology- when statement 'X' is invariably true. For example, 'an orphan has no father'.

Anomaly-statement 'X' is absurd in that it presupposes a contradiction, for example, 'the orphan's father is at home' presupposes that 'the orphan has a father' which is a contradiction, and therefore is absurd or anomalous.

v) Componential theory of meaning: It is based on the structural approach to present an account of word-meaning. Here, in this theory, the total meaning of a word is broken up into its basic distinct components, and each component of meaning is expressed by a feature symbol with a '+' and '-' mark to show the presence or absence of a certain feature. For instance,

ADULT : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{ADULT (ADULT)} \\ -\text{ADULT (YOUNG)} \end{array} \right\}$

MALE : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{MALE (MALE)} \\ -\text{MALE (FEMALE)} \end{array} \right\}$

Following the componential theory, the meanings of some individual words can be expressed by the combinations of these features as:

Man : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{human} \\ +\text{adult} \\ +\text{male} \end{array} \right\}$

Woman : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{human} \\ +\text{adult} \\ -\text{male} \end{array} \right\}$

Boy : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{human} \\ -\text{adult} \\ +\text{male} \end{array} \right\}$

Girl : $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} +\text{human} \\ -\text{adult} \\ -\text{male} \end{array} \right\}$

The meaning of each word is understood as a combination of these ultimate contrastive features.

vi) Field theory of meaning: Related to the Use theory of meaning is another theory known as the Field theory of meaning developed by Jost Trier in Europe in 1931. Trier, in his theory, focused on the following points:

- a) The vocabulary in a language system is semantically related and builds up a complete lexical system. This system is unsteady and changing constantly.
- b) Since the vocabulary of a language is semantically related, we are not supposed to study the semantic change of individual words in isolation, but to study vocabulary as an integrated system.

- c) Since lexemes are interrelated in sense, we can only determine the connotation of a word by analyzing and comparing its semantic relationship with other words. A word is meaningful only in its own semantic field.

The theory explains the vocabulary or lexicon of a language as a system of interrelated networks, popularly known as semantic-fields. For example, lily, rose, jasmine, etc belong to the same semantic field of flowers.

3.2 SEMANTIC FIELD THEORY

Semantic field theory has remained a subject of great interest for a long time and the main contributions include the works of Jost Trier, Adrienne Lehrer, and John Lyons. The contributions of E. A. Nida, G. N. Leech, and D. A. Cruse also need to be mentioned. In this regard, there are a number of terms like the Semantic field theory, Lexical field theory, and Word field theory that are more or less distinguished, but the usage for the current chapter will employ the term the semantic field theory. Pertinently, Asher (1994, V.4:2144) presents the following account of Lexical field theory, “Lexical field theory is the general name for those approaches in lexical semantics that reject the view that the vocabulary of a language is an unordered set of items, but that instead take the view that the lexicon is organized into groups of items that belong together on the basis of their meaning. A lexical field, then, is such a set of semantically related lexical items. A linguistic analysis of a lexical field takes the form of a description of the mutual relations among the items in the field, the basic structuralist assumption being that the semantic value of any such item is determined by its relative position in the field.”

Semantic field theory holds that the meanings represented in the lexicon are interrelated, that they cluster together to form 'fields' of meaning, which in turn cluster into even larger fields until the entire language is encompassed. Thus sprinting, trotting, and jogging cluster into a field of running, which in turn clusters with many other verbs into a larger field of human motion, and so on to a field of motion in general. R.H.Robins (1964: 70,71) writes, "...The field theory of meaning is concerned to show that the lexical content of a language, its total vocabulary, or such of it as is available to a speaker at any time, is not a mere conglomeration or aggregation of independent items, and that the word meanings cannot be understood or adequately described as if it wereIn part the meaning and use of most words are governed by the presence in the language or availability in language to a speaker of other words whose semantic functions are related in one or more ways to the same area of situational environment or culture" (cited in Chhibber,1987:55,56)

Lehrer (1969) summarizes central feature of the Field theory as 'that vocabulary is organized into lexical or conceptual fields, and the items within each field are tightly structured with respect to each other.' This notion goes back to Trier in the 1930s, and the notion that the entire vocabulary can be divided and subdivided into interlinked fields underpins such works as *Roget's Thesaurus*. (Cited in Malmkjær, 2004:340)

Semantic field theory in all its manifestations presents the picture of interrelatedness of the parts or components making up the fields. If a feature is there in one part of the field, the probability of the presence of that feature in other parts of that field cannot be ruled out. For example,

on a broader level, in the semantic field of living organisms, the feature of 'being alive' is to be there whether humans or animals.

Adrienne Lehrer states that the basic premise of semantic field theory is that, to understand lexical meaning, it is necessary to look at sets of semantically related words, not simply at each word in isolation. Further, he adds that the semantic relatedness is the relationship that exists between lexical items such as synonymy, as in *big* and *large*, antonymy, as in *big* and *small*, hyponymy, as in *rose* and *flower*, converseness, as in *buy* and *sell*, incompatibility, as in *cat*, *dog*, *cow*, *horse*, *pig*, etc. (Source:[http://www.questia.com/Adrienne Lehrer/semantic field/](http://www.questia.com/Adrienne%20Lehrer/semantic%20field/) 28.05. 06: 1300hrs)

The concept of semantic fields is related to the related concept of semantic feature analysis. Semantic feature analysis helps to sort out the similarities and differences among a group of events, people, objects or ideas. This analysis uses a grid to help the exploration of a set of things that are related to one another. By analyzing the grid, it becomes easier to observe connections, make predictions and master important concepts. The procedure of semantic feature analysis involves the steps like identification of the general topic to be analyzed, making up a list of typical examples or ideas related to the topic.

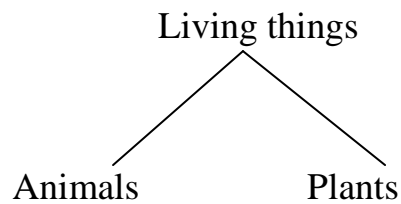
The present chapter of the study focuses on the different semantic fields that are present in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language, and the purpose of the current chapter is to analyze this cultural lexicon of the Kashmiri language using the framework of semantic field approach. In Kashmiri language, the cultural lexicon mainly consists of lexical items derived from diverse aspects and fields including festivals, occasions and ceremonies like marriages, and of course the items from kinship

terminology, modes of address and arts and crafts, etc, that are considered as the integral part of Kashmiri culture.

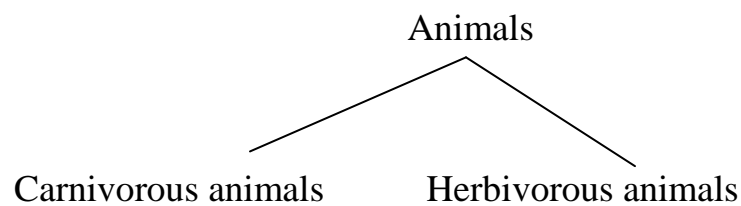
3.2.1. Semantic Field

A semantic field is an area of meaning which can be delimited from others in a language. Thus we might talk about a semantic field of *food* or *clothing* or *emotions*. Within clothing we find words for all the different kinds of garments, plus those for making and wearing them. “Semantic fields are conceptual regions shared among a number of words. Each field is viewed as a partial region of the whole expanse of ideas that is covered by the vocabulary of a language. Such areas are referred to by groups as semantically related words i.e. semantic fields. Internally to each field, a word meaning is determined by the network of relations established with other words.” (Source://<http://www.yahoo.in/> Alfio Gliozzo/semantic field/ 28.05.06/ 1310hrs)

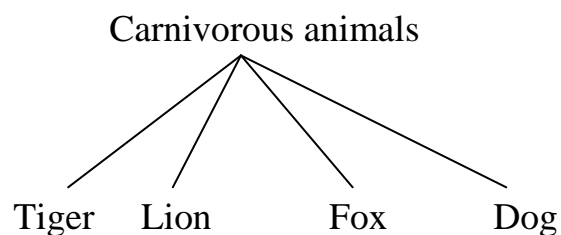
Semantic field is a somewhat elastic term. Thus we could say that *animals* and *plants* are semantic fields, or we could group them together into a single larger field called *living things*. Semantic fields are composed of smaller groupings called lexical sets or sub-fields. Within *emotions*, we can identify lexical sets of words for ‘love’, ‘fear’, and ‘anger’ etc. Grouping words into sets or fields can be a useful way of learning vocabulary. Consider the semantic fields of living things, as follows:



Similarly, the semantic field of animals can be drawn as:



Likewise, the carnivorous animals again form a field as:



These diagrams show the interrelationship of the lexical items in the semantic fields, and more importantly the elastic nature of these fields.

The semantic field of a word is the set of sememes (distinct meaning) expressed by the word. For example, the semantic field of *dog* includes ‘*canine*’ and ‘*to hound*’. The semantic field of a given word shifts over time. For example, the English word ‘*man*’ used to mean ‘*human being*’ exclusively, while today it predominantly means ‘*adult*

male', but its semantic field still extends in some uses to the generic '*human*'.

Semantic field is an area of human experience or perception, as color, that is delimited and subcategorized by a set of interrelated vocabulary items in a language. One world is accessible to another world when its semantic field is higher to the other. It includes the information that establishes a level of significance to any world.

Writes Elizabeth (2006:83) "... They have been used by several researchers and in a number of different ways. A well-known example is the hierarchical and similarity-based word association network used by Collins and Quillian (1969). The network is based on "is a" relations between words; for example, *a poodle is a dog*, *a dog is an animal*. Especially for natural kinds, this is a good way of describing paradigmatic, similarity –based relations. Collins and Loftus (1975) presented a model of word meanings based on semantic similarity. Words are activated by spreading activation in the network when related words are aroused. This is the basis for semantic priming of word recognition (i.e., that a word is recognized faster if it has been preceded by a semantically related word). There are, however, also syntagmatic semantic field relations between words, based on contiguity or co-occurrence. Such relations exist between word pairs such as *cat* and *dog*, *eat* and *food*, or *red* and *light*. Similarity and contiguity relations interact in determining association strength between words. For example, *cat* and *dog* both belong to the same category in a hierarchical, similarity-based field, but they also tend to co-occur in expressions such as *cats and dogs*. Semantic fields can be based on relations between words, which are in

turn based on relations between objects, events, and properties in the world.”

Summing up, the concept of semantic field can be defined in the words of Chhibber (1987:53, 55) as, “The meaning of a linguistic sign can be defined as the sum total of its sentential functions or the sum total of the contexts in which it occurs in language. The semantic contrasts that a linguistic sign contracts in language constitute its semantic field...

...The semantic field of a linguistic sign is not a haphazard collection but an organized list of its collocations or contexts. The semantic field, again, is organized on the principle of comparative normality (the notion of comparative normality is not based on the frequency measure of a linguistic sign, though frequency measure may be a factor and even an important one. The frequency counts of linguistic signs are hard to determine but the notion of comparative normality of utterances depends upon the native speaker’s response which can be easily obtained.). For instance, it is normal to say

Our dog had pups

Than

Our dog had kittens

The more normal or more distinctive sentential functions constitute the focal region and the less normal collocations the peripheral region of the semantic field of a linguistic sign” (Chhibber, 1987:53, 55).

In the above example, *dog having pups* is a more distinctive sentential function of *dog* than *dog is black*.

Semantic fields incorporate the use of the words like

- I) Semantic class-a semantic class contains words that share a semantic property. Semantic classes may intersect. The intersection of *female* and *young* can be *girl*.
- II) Semantic property- a semantic property consists of the components of meaning of a word. The component female is a semantic property of *girl*, *women*, *actress*, etc.
- III) Semantic feature- a semantic feature is a notational method which can be used to express the existence or non-existence of semantic properties by using plus and minus signs.

MAN IS [+HUMAN], [+MALE], [+ADULT]

WOMAN IS [+HUMAN], [-MALE], [+ADULT]

BOY IS [+HUMAN], [+MALE], [-ADULT]

GIRL IS [+HUMAN], [-MALE], [-ADULT]

Intersecting semantic classes share the same features. Some features need not be specifically mentioned as their presence or absence is obvious from another feature. This is a redundancy rule.

“Among the first major studies of a semantic field was Trier's (1931) study of the development of terms for INTELLECT. According to Ullmann: Trier elaborated his conception of fields as closely-knit sectors of the vocabulary, in which a particular sphere is divided up, classified and organized in such a way that each element helps to delimit its neighbours and is delimited by them... In each field, the raw material of experiences is analysed and elaborated in a unique way, differing from one language to another and often from one period to another in the history of the same idiom. In this way, the structure of semantic fields embodies a specific philosophy and a scale of values (Ullmann, 1964:

245)”. (source:[http://www.questia.com/Traugott and Dasher/Regularity in Semantic Change/](http://www.questia.com/Traugott%20and%20Dasher/Regularity%20in%20Semantic%20Change/)26.05.06:1100hrs)

3.3. SEMANTIC FIELDS IN KASHMIRI CULTURAL LEXICON

The semantic fields, as conveyed from the semantic field theory, provides a useful way to group, categorize and analyze the otherwise broad category of lexicon that makes up a language. The approach paves a convenient way to assemble words in a group known as semantic field that is words, in these semantic fields, share with each other semantic features.

Kashmiri society portrays a symbol of tradition and rituals which have been carried since ages. In Kashmiri language, a good number of semantic fields can be prepared. The current work deals with the Kashmiri cultural lexicon and the semantic fields are structured with the lexical items from the cultural content of the language, like kinship, wedding/marriage, etc. Although the term culture in itself is very broad in nature and usage, but the categories like wedding, kinship, festivals, cooking, way of dressing, modes of address, and even colours etc. remain linked in a detachable way to the the term of culture.

Kashmiri culture is intrinsically compiled by the Muslim culture and the Hindu culture (also known as the Pandit culture). Although there are other groups like Sikhs, etc., but due to their being the dominant components of Kashmiri culture, the present study highlights the two main groups i.e. Muslims and Pandits. In the compilation of the sub semantic fields, like those of Muslim wedding and Hindu wedding, the difference is considered, whilst the similarities are not ignored. For example, Muslims use *nišḍ:n^j* for engagement while as the Pandits prefer

gañDun. The similarity, in both communities, is found in the usage of words like *mō̃:zra:t*, *masmitsra:vun*, etc.

The concept of Semantic fields in Kashmiri language is, at various places, directed to the concept of sub semantic fields. There are a number of instances where this concept of sub semantic field comes into play. The occurrence of these sub semantic fields is both a ‘help’ and a ‘need’. It is a help because it subdivides the lexicon of a particular group and makes the location and identification easy. It is a need as otherwise it would be very difficult to demarcate the lines of similarities and differences that make the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language by the combination of the Muslim Culture and the Hindu Culture. For example, the two sub semantic fields of Muslims and Hindus present a clear view of the resemblances and differences between the two communities in the overall semantic field of marriage of Kashmiris. Not only the differences are found between the Muslim culture and the Hindu culture but also in cases like wedding, dressing and even in the form of speech. So, the semantic sub group needs to be applied to get a clearer view.

The Kashmiri wedding, besides being divided into Muslim wedding and Hindu wedding, is composed of various stages that occur and happen before and after wedding. The application of semantic sub field concept to wedding incorporates the ceremonies like engagement and the various other things that are subjected to occur before wedding, and the ceremonies like *mō̃:zra:t*, *yenivo:l*, and *vaThal* etc are included in the list that follow the wedding.

The semantic field of wedding also includes the semantic sub fields of *vanivun*. The *vanivun* (wedding songs) include the categories of songs

like *mō:zra:t*, *vanivun*, *yenivo:l vanivun* and even may include the songs that are sung at the time of engagement.

Also, the semantic field of wedding includes the *va:zva:n*, which is also included in the semantic field of cooking. Thus, *va:zva:n* relates two different semantic fields that of wedding and cooking, and can be called as link-field. *It can be defined as any such field that relates the two different semantic fields or share the features of two different semantic fields*. The link-field, as that of *va:zva:n*, can also serve an independent semantic field. *va:zva:n*, the link-field, between the two fields of wedding and cooking will also be touched out here.

Following is the description and account of various semantic fields found in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language:

3.3.1 Wedding/Marriage

Kashmir forms a distinct cultural and ethnic group. In Kashmiri society, marriage is regarded as a pious relationship between a man and a woman. The richness of the Kashmiri culture is very much evident in the wedding ceremonies. In the past, the wedding functions stretched for days together but nowadays the wedding ceremonies have been minimized to a large extent, mainly due to preoccupied nature of today's life.

The Kashmiri wedding encapsulates all the components of the modern world while retaining the ingredients of cultural perspective of its traditional history. For example, the musical bands, like those of Valley Boys, are nowadays arranged on wedding to add color to the occasion. But this has not replaced the songs sung by the ladies, known as *vanivun* (songs, especially wedding songs), with their *tumbakhnō:r* (tambourine/

earthenware small pot with extended pipe known as *nari*), *nôṭʰ* (simple earthenware pot), and *roph* (traditional Kashmiri dance).

It is again world famous for the feast known as *va:zva:n* that is prepared on this occasion. *va:zva:n* has become an integral part of Kashmiri wedding. It consists of a number of dishes of whom *kaba:b*, *risti*, *tabakhma:z*, and *gošta:bi* need special mention. A Kashmiri marriage also gives opportunities to all the relatives to enjoy and participate in it substantially.

The semantic field of wedding in Kashmir, mainly, includes the sub semantic fields of Muslim wedding and Hindu wedding, and the sub fields like *nišô:nʰ*, *mô:zra:t*, *yenivo:l*, *vaThal* etc are included in the Muslim wedding. The *nišô:nʰ*, here, is mainly done in two ways, *na:bad-nišô:nʰ* and *nika:h- nišô:nʰ*. *na:bad- nišô:nʰ* is ring ceremony, and when *nišô:nʰ* includes *nika:h* (marriage contract), it is known as *nika:h- nišô:nʰ* where, for all religious and practical purposes, the couple is married to each other. Some Kashmiri's have a '*nika:h*' ceremony but the girl continues to stay with her parents, and in other cases after the '*nika:h*' engagement the girl moves in with her fiancé in his house. *gañDun*, *yenivo:l*, *lôgan*, *suvagath* etc. are the items that are included in the Hindu wedding. However, the term engagement is nowadays frequently used in place of *nišô:nʰ* (*nabad- nišô:nʰ* / *nika:h- nišô:nʰ*).

The semantic field of wedding/marriage varies, not much, according to different social classes. For example, the upper classes of society celebrate lavishly the ceremonies associated with this occasion of marriage as compared to the middle class and lower class. Some people prefer to celebrate this occasion in a simple manner, be it upper, middle

or lower class, thus trying to minimize the extravagance that has been linked to this term of marriage/wedding.

The present study divides the semantic field of wedding into two main sub semantic fields' i.e. Muslim wedding and Hindu wedding, making an attempt to cover the majority of the terms irrespective of upper, middle, or lower class.

3.3.1.1 Semantic Sub-Field: Muslim Wedding

Kashmiri muslim weddings are rich in social customs and ceremonies. For a whole week before the wedding, celebrations start in the homes of the bride and groom. Kashmiri muslim weddings feature the *va:zva:n* or special cuisine prepared by the bride's side for the groom's relative and natives. Muslim marriage (*nika:h*) is a civil contract between two persons - a man and a woman; it is a contract of a permanent nature, unless dissolved by divorce. It has attached to it a notion of sanctity as well, since every step in its materialization and dissolution is guided by religious dictat. The list of phases and events, related to marriage, is large and includes the terms like match-making, pre marriage ceremonies like engagement, response etc., marriage ritual i.e., *nika:h*, and post marriage events like *vôli:mî*.

A brief introduction of the Kashmiri Muslim wedding includes:

thaph

'*thaph*' literally means to catch somebody. In the context of marriage, the ceremony means the engagement of a boy with a girl. The meeting of the boy and the girl is often outside the home, in public places (although it is common to meet inside the home also). When the couple accepts each

other, jewelry is often given to the bride by the groom's family, and sometimes rings and other gifts are exchanged. In some cases, the people do not follow this custom, and instead get engaged directly into the preparations of marriage.

nišō:n^j

Engagement (*nišō:n^j*) is a sort of seal to this newly tied relation, and it follows, more or less, the stages similar to the marriage. Engagement follows two patterns: in the first case there is simple ceremony without *nika:h*, commonly known as *na:bad- nišō:n^j*. The second type includes the *nika:h* and is known as *nika:h- nišō:n^j*. Whether it is *na:bad nišō:n^j* or *nika:h- nišō:n^j*, the brides, and in some cases even the grooms, apply *mehendi* (henna dye). Some families celebrate this *mō̃:zra:t* in accordance with the *mō̃:zra:t* of marriage.

nišō:n^j is a sort of mini-marriage where, if not all, people invite a good number of guests and there is serving of *va:zva:n*. In some cases, there is collection of *gul^jm^ju:th* (in the form of cash/gold and other gifts) also.

Wedding/ nika:h

In most of the cases, *nika:h* is done on the day of wedding, and in complete sense this is a wedding ceremony after which the bride and the groom are considered married. It traditionally involves the signing of official paperwork in the presence of an Imam/ Qazi. After signing these papers and performing some religious rituals, the couple is declared husband and wife.

The assembly of *nika:h* is addressed with a marriage sermon (*khutba-tun-nika:h*) by a muslim scholar or priest officiating the

marriage. Customarily, a Muslim judge (Qazi) officiates the *nika:h* ceremony and keeps the record of the marriage contract. However, any trust worthy practicing Muslim can conduct the *nika:h* ceremony. The *khutba-tun-nika:h* begins with the praise of Allah. His help and guidance is sought. And then, the Muslim confession of faith that “There is none worthy of worship except Allah and Muhammad is His servant and messenger” is declared. The three Quranic verses (Quran 4:1, 3:102, 33:70-71) and one Prophetic saying (Hadith) form the main text of the marriage. This Hadith is:

“By Allah! Among all of you I am the most God-fearing, and among you all, I am the supermost to save myself from the wrath of Allah, yet my state is that I observe prayer and sleep too. I observe fast and suspend observing them; I marry woman also. And he who turns away from my Sunnah has no relation with me". (Sahih Bukhari)

The Muslim priest or qazi officiating the marriage ceremony concludes the ceremony with prayer (dua) for bride, groom, their respective families, the local Muslim community, and the Muslim community at large (Ummah)

Marriage (*nika:h*) is considered as an act of worship (ibadah). It is virtuous to conduct it in a mosque keeping the ceremony simple. The marriage ceremony is a social as well as a religious activity. Islam advocates simplicity in ceremonies and celebrations. Prophet Muhammad (SAW) considered simple weddings the best weddings: “The best wedding is that upon which the least trouble and expense is bestowed". (Mishkat)

nika:h dinner

In the past the Kashmiri weddings used to take place at midnight, but these days due to the uncertain circumstances weddings are held in the early hours of the evening, and in some cases in day time also. Dinner is served early, for the convenience of the guests. The food served is the same '*va:zva:n*' food served with Kashmiri *phiri:n*, *hōlwi* and *kulfi*.

bara:t and yenivo:l

bara:t: The groom arrives at the venue in a wedding procession '*bara:t*' consisting of friends and relatives. The *bara:t* is called '*yenivo:l*'. The groom heads this *bara:t* along with a number of guests or *sa:lar*. The *bara:tis* or *sa:lar* are served food known as *va:zva:n*, consisting of about a dozen of dishes, along with deserts like *phiri:n*, *hōlwa*, *rasmalayi* and *kulfi*. This is popularly known as *mahara:z sab*.

The Marriage Banquet (*vōli:mi*)

After the consummation of the marriage, the groom holds a banquet called *vōli:mi*. The relatives, neighbours, and friends are invited in order to make them aware of the marriage. Both rich and poor of the family and community are invited to the marriage feast. Prophet Muhammad (SAW) said: "The worst of the feasts are those marriage feasts to which the rich are invited and the poor are left out" (Mishkat). It is recommended that Muslims attend marriage ceremonies and marriage feasts upon invitation. Prophet Muhammad (SAW) said: "...and he who refuses to accept an invitation to a marriage feast, verily disobeys Allah and His Prophet"(Ahmad & Abu Dawood). In a nutshell, *vōli:mi* is reception at groom's place where a lunch is served.

The semantic field of Muslim wedding includes the various semantic sub fields like engagement, *mō̃:zra:t*, *yeŋivo:l* and *vaThal*. All the lexical items included under these semantic sub-fields will be taken together under the name of semantic field of wedding.

The lexical items that are included in the semantic field of Muslim wedding are further divided into pre-wedding, wedding preparation items, and post wedding items.

PRE-WEDDING ITEMS

1. *nišō:nʲ*
 - i. *–nika:h nišō:nʲ*
 - ii. *–na:bad nišō:nʲ*
2. *kasam hʻon tʲ na:bad badla:vun*
3. *hō̃:zi:ri:*
4. *bō̃Dʲ doh*

All these terms of functions are celebrated before the grand and final day of wedding. *na:bad- nišō:nʲ* means the engagement, which is followed by *kasam hʻon tʲ na:bad badla:vun* which means sort of oath and acceptance of this new relation by both the sides of boy and girl, especially by the concerned mothers. *hō̃:zi:ri:* is the name given to the response from the girl's side in the form of gifts, kind and cash to the boy's side. *bō̃Dʲ doh* is the term dedicated to all the days of religious importance, like '*i:dul fitir*', '*i:dul azha*', '*i:di mi:la:d*', and '*navro:z*' etc occurring from the period of engagement to wedding, where gifts are exchanged between the two sides.

WEDDING PREPARATION ITEMS

1. *sa:th na:mi*
2. *tomul tshatun*
3. *masa:li dagun*

While as the terms like *masmitsra:vun*, *a:b še:run*, and *mō̃:zra:t* are included in the list of preparation of wedding, but also mark the beginning of wedding ceremony. *masmitsra:vun* is a function that is organised at the girl's place. On this day the girl ties small plaits to her hair, which are later unbraided by the married ladies of the family. The ladies unbraid the plaits and apply oil to the bride's hair. The function is accompanied by *vanivun* (vanivun refers to the songs that are sung at the time of marriage, and engagement etc.) and everyone showering their choicest blessings on the bride.

On *mō̃:zra:t*, small, unmarried girls from the boy's family get *mehendi* for the bride. The girls apply *mehendi* on the bride's hands and feet. The bride is bedecked in all her bridal jewellery. The *mehendi* function is followed by a dinner. Similarly, the groom's sister applies *mehendi* on his little finger.

nika:h

nika:h is followed in two ways-either at the time of engagement, when it is known as *nika:h niš̌o:n̄*, or at the time of marriage. In complete sense this is a wedding ceremony after which the bride and the groom are considered married.

nika:hna:mi

The legal document is signed by the bride and the groom, Maulvi and Walis for the marriage to become legalized. It contains a set of terms and conditions that must be accepted by both the parties.

WEDDING AND POST WEDDING LIST

Some of the words in this list include:

1. *gobri yenivo:l*
2. *ko:ri yenivo:l*
3. *dasta:r*
4. *gul'm'u:Th*
5. *mahara:z*
6. *mahrenⁱ*
7. *masnand*
8. *mahara:ẓi sab*
9. *ṛokhṣoṭi*
10. *vanivun*
11. *phirsa:l*
12. *varta:v*
13. *vaThal*
14. *sath ḍoh*
15. *phiri yun*
16. *haši ḳō̃:Th*
17. *kadli ta:r*

18. *dɔdi mo:j*

19. *zɔ:pa:n*

Nowadays the '*zɔ:pa:n*' is an obsolete concept, and has been replaced by the trend of motor cars.

3.3.1.2 Semantic Sub-Field: Hindu Wedding

The Kashmiri Hindus, or Kashmiri Pandits, as they are generally known, have rich cultural traditions that they have managed to maintain over the long last centuries. The wedding of Kashmiri Pandits consists of elaborate rituals. Beautiful clothes, traditional gifts, quaint ceremonies and mouth-watering meals prepared by the family cook, mark this happy occasion with ceremonies like *devgo:n*, *dɔr^jbatɪ*, *livun*, *vanivun*, *mɔ̃:zra:t*, *satra:t*, *ro:Thi khabar* to make it unforgettable for the couple and all those invited.

The Hindu wedding shares both the similarities and differences with the Muslim wedding. There is predominance of terms that are similar in both types of weddings (muslim and pandit) like *mɔ̃:zra:t*, *tomul tshatun*, *masa:li dagun* and *yenivo:l*, etc.

Like the Muslim wedding, the Hindu wedding in Kashmir includes the terms like match-making, pre marriage ceremonies like *gañDun*, etc., marriage ritual, and post marriage events like *gari atsun* and *satra:t*. A brief description of Hindu wedding is as follows:

Rituals before Marriage.

Matching of Teknis

The first step or rather ritual towards a Kashmiri Hindu wedding is the matching of the horoscopes of the prospective bride and groom. The stars and the configuration of the horoscopes of the boy and the girl play an important role in deciding whether the couple should go for the marriage or not. The Kashmiri pandits also believe in this ritual and the horoscope is known as Teknis among them. So, matching of tekni is very important.

kasamd̄ri

Once the alliance is finalized '*kasamd̄ri*', which is a formal commitment on the part of the boy and girl's families to the marriage, takes place. An auspicious date for the marriage is fixed in consultation with a *puro:hit* as per the Kashmiri almanac. The ritual of *kasamd̄ri* entails the formal commitment on the part of the girl's and the boy's families to the marriages. This ceremony traditionally takes place in a temple in front of an idol. Two elderly persons either from the maternal or paternal side of both the families gather along with a few close relatives and exchange bouquets of flowers as a sign of celebration of the formalization of the alliance. The girls' family lays out a meal comprising of traditional Kashmiri food. Separately in the houses of the bride and the groom, the eldest aunt (of the boy and the girl) prepares *var* (a special rice pudding) which is distributed among the neighbors and relatives. The girl's family sends cash, fruits, dry fruits and a pot containing *na:bad* (*mišri*, sugar lumps) to the boy's house. This is what happened in olden days. Nowadays, the boy and the girl meet in a temple or at boy's house and exchange golden rings.

gañDun

The *puro:hits* or priests fix up the day for the engagement (*gañDun*)

according to the Kashmiri calendar. The girl and the boy's relatives and friends are invited at the respective houses for lunch or evening tea.

Series of events/functions between the engagement and marriage:

The girl's side mostly decides the date of marriage with the help of a priest. The thread ceremony for the boy would take place within seven days before the *lōgan*, specifically after the *mō̃:zra:t* and the *devgo:n* ceremonies.

Marriage Rituals

livun

livun is an exceptional ritual found only in the Kashmiri wedding. It involves the cleaning of the brides and bridegroom's houses. For this ritual, a *mō̃hu:rat* (auspicious time) is being decided for the respective families. It refers to the traditional cleansing of the house before the wedding, as it is the place the traditional meals for the wedding are to be cooked. (*livun* has other similar connotation in Kashmiri language which means cleaning or painting.)

devgo:n

devgo:n is the *havan* which is performed at both the houses. The boy's side holds it at their place, while the girl's side holds it at their place. In these *havans*, prayers are offered by both the bride and the groom who transfers them from the *bhramača:ri:* (celibacy, singleness) to the *grehastī a:śram* (family life). These prayers are offered to Lord Shiv and Goddess Parvati.

lôgan

The *lôgan* (the actual marriage) is fixed either during the daytime (*dôhlôgan*) or the nighttime (*ro:tlôgan*). All invitees first assemble at the groom's residence.

Wedding Ceremony

The wedding ceremony starts with recitation of the *slokas* (religious verses) by the *puro:hits* (Priests). The actual marriage ceremony has the bride and the groom seated with the priest in front of the holy fire. The priest tells them about their duties. Then, there takes place a ritual called the *athiva:s* in which the girl and the boy have to cross their arms one over the other and hold hands. And their hands are then covered with a cloth. A golden thread called *mananma:l* is then tied to the foreheads of both the bride and the groom. After this, the left feet of the bride and the groom, kept one upon the other, are placed on a *ka:jivaTh* (a grinding stone used in Kashmiri kitchens). The first round (*phe:rî*) around the sacred fire is made by stepping on seven one-rupee coins of silver (placed in a circle), while the other six rounds are done to the chant of mantras. The bride and the groom finally feed each other some food (essentially rice) signifying the end of the ceremony.

Po:šî pu:za:

The bride and the groom are made to sit in a comfortable posture at the end of the ritual of marriage which is commonly known as *saptapôdi:*. A red cloth is placed on their heads, and then all the people around offer them flowers (*po:š*) in accompaniment of vedamantras (religious verses). This is called worshipping the couple with flowers. The justification at the rear of this custom is that the couple is considered to be Shiva and Parvati and the two are accordingly worshipped. First there are *mantras*

for the bride and the groom separately followed by those meant for the two jointly.

Post marriage rituals

vidayi:

vidayi: or departing for the husband's family is also a ceremony for the majority of Hindu marriages. Among the Kashmiris, the boy and the girl would be made to stand on the *v^jo:g* (marriage seat) again. The bride's family's eldest lady gives the newlywed couple *mišri* (*na:bad*, sugar balls) three times. The groom and his bride are usually taken to a temple as a means of thanksgiving and obtaining blessings.

satra:t

It is customary for the girl to visit her parent's house, for dinner on the same evening following their wedding, with her husband. This ceremony is popularly known as *satra:t*. There is also the norm of presenting new clothes to the groom and the bride by the girl's parents. These clothes have to be worn by the couple before leaving the girl's parents house. It is, however, important to present a *dusi* (six yard pashmina shawl) to the groom and some salt and cash called *atigath* to the bride.

phirlath

This is the ceremony that takes place when the couple visit the bride's parents for the second time. Once again, they are given new clothes to mark the occasion.

roThi khabar

On a Saturday or Tuesday after the wedding, the bride's parents send a *roTh* or a traditional, long freshly baked cake (bread decorated with nuts), to their son-in-law's family. Then she is given salt as *šogun*.

gari-atsun

This is equivalent to the modern-day reception held at the girl's place. The bride's brother and sister come to the marital home and escort the bride back to her parent's home for one day. This ritual is known as the *gariatsun*. The bride wears all the jewelry given to her by her in-laws and proceeds to her parent's home. The bride's family prepares a lavish spread of non-vegetarian delicacies for the relatives from both homes. After the grand meal, the bride and groom return to the marital home, carrying with them all the gifts presented to the bride by her parents. It marks off the beginning of a fruitful and happy life for the couple and their families.

The husband brings back his wife and her family to attend the reception hosted by his family. An interesting ritual of this function is that the groom's paternal aunt (*poph*) then leads the couple to the kitchen where they are made to sit on the mud stoves as the traditional cook (the *va:z̥i*) serves them food (sweet rice or vegetable and curds) which is fed by the *poph* (father's sister) to both of them. The *va:z̥i* is given some money for the services rendered by him. This ceremony is called *da:n zang*.

The lexical items in the Hindu wedding are as follows:

kha:ndar

1. *lōgan*
2. *devgo:n*
3. *mō̃:z̥ra:t*

4. *masmitsra:vun*

lôgan

- *ko:ri vo:l*

1. *rɔkhsɔti:*

2. *po:ši pu:za*

3. *day batî*

4. *athîva:s*

5. *kɔnya:da:n*

6. *varipu:za:*

7. *sab*

8. *dʰo:g*

9. *suvagath*

- *gobrimo:l*

1. *yenivo:l*

2. *dʰo:g*

3. *sehri ganDun*

4. *lôgančîðr*

devgo:n

1. *h'on*

2. *sa:z*

3. *sra:n*

mḍ̃:zra:t

1. *mḍ̃:z*
2. *kr̥u:l*

masmitsra:vun

1. *dapun*
2. *garina:vun*
3. *vɔkhda:n*

The study of the sub semantic fields of Muslim marriage and Pandit marriage, of the semantic field of marriage, shows that these two sub semantic fields share a large number of terms in marriage, and at the same time there are also some differences between these two.

For example, in both cases, there are a number of terms that are used to denote the same ceremony:

- i) *mḍ̃:zra:t*: it denotes the ceremony which involves the application of hena dye (mehndi) to bride and groom.
- ii) *bara:t* is the name given to the gathering of people who accompany the groom to the bride's home.
- iii) *masmitsra:vun* is a function organised at the bride's place. Here the girl ties small plaits to her hair, which are later unbraided by all the married ladies of the family. The ladies unbraid the plaits and apply oil to the bride's hair.

nika:h, *niš̌̌:n̊*, *na:bad- niš̌̌:n̊*, *vaThal* and *hḍ̌̌:zi:ri:* are the terms exclusively used by Muslims, while as the words like *livun*, *devgo:n* and *lḍ̌̌gan* are preferred by Pandits depicting the differences between these two communities.

There are a number of instances of using different terms for the same ceremony by these two cases. For example, muslims use the term *kasam h'on*, and the hindus use the term *kasamdôri* for the formal commitment on the part of boy's family and girl's family to marriage.

In addition to the Muslim wedding and Hindu wedding, a brief introduction of the wedding of Sikhs is given as:

The Sikh wedding is generally carried out in Gurudwara in the presence of the preacher of the religious place, family, friends and relatives.

Pre-Wedding Rituals

'*šogun*' or engagement is the ceremony that marks the beginning of the Sikh wedding celebrations. The ceremony is also called *tilak*, which is performed by a *bhaiji* (preacher) of the Gurudwara. The families of the prospective bride and the groom exchange gifts in order to confirm the engagement of the couple.

'*ču:Ra:*' or the bangle ceremony is another important Sikh pre-wedding ritual. The occasion is organized at the bride's home, wherein the maternal uncle and aunt of the bride adorn her wrist with white and red bangles.

The third pre-wedding custom followed by Sikhs is '*ma:yya*', according to which, the bride and the groom are not allowed to leave their houses for few days prior to the wedding.

'*go:na*' is a pre-wedding ritual wherein an auspicious red thread is tied to the right wrist of the groom and the left wrist of the bride, at their respective homes.

Wedding Rituals

'*gharo:li*' is observed in the morning of the wedding day, at the groom's home. During the occasion, the groom's sister-in-law, accompanied by other female relatives, go to a nearby well or Gurudwara to fill an earthen pitcher ('*gharo:li*') with water, which is later used to bath the groom. This is followed by the wedding ceremony, which is called '*milini*'. During the '*milini*' ceremony, the bride and the groom's families embrace and wish each other. *šabad* are sung and the *arida:s* recited as the procession enters the Gurudwara, meanwhile breakfast is served to the guests

After the culmination of the *milini* ceremony, the bride and the groom sit together to attend the Guru Granth Sahib Kirtan. The groom's sister drapes a chunni around his neck. She ties one end of the chunni to the pallu of the lehanga worn by the bride.

Post-Wedding Rituals

The post-wedding rituals of a traditional Sikh wedding consist of '*vidayi*' or '*doli*' ceremony, which marks the end of the celebration.

Analysis of the field:

The field is analyzed on the basis of the source of the words comprising this field as shown:

Word	Source
------	--------

<i>na:bad</i>	Persian
<i>mō:z</i>	Sanskrit
<i>nišō:n^j</i>	Persian
<i>nika:h</i>	Arabic
<i>hō:zi:ri:</i>	Arabic
<i>rōkhsōti</i>	Arabic
<i>mahara:z</i>	Sanskrit
<i>lōgan</i>	Sanskrit
<i>gañDun</i>	Sanskrit
<i>sa:l</i>	Arabic
<i>dasta:r</i>	Persian
<i>khavar</i>	Arabic
<i>kō:z^j</i>	Arabic
<i>kasam</i>	Arabic

There are a number of instances in this field where two words are combined as follows:

<i>a:b + še:run</i>	Persian+Kashmiri
<i>mō:z+ra:t</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>masa:li+dagun</i>	Arabic+Sanskrit
<i>mas+mītsra:vun</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>mahara:z+sab</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>phir+sa:l</i>	Sanskrit+Arabic
<i>phir+lath</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit

<i>sa:th+namī</i>	Arabic+Persian
<i>athi+va:s</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>das+pa:kh</i>	Persian+Persian
<i>das+tulun</i>	Persian+Sanskrit
<i>kōdli+ta:r</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit

The semantic field of marriage/wedding highlights the various stages, phases, and terms of Muslim, Hindu and Sikh marriage in Kashmir. Besides, there are a number of terms that are common to both Muslim and Hindu marriage, e.g., ‘*mō:zra:t:*’, ‘*bara:t*’ and ‘*masmitsra:vun*’. As is clear that majority of words owe their origin to Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. It may be due to the fact that Islam and Hinduism are two major religions of the region which have left a deep imprint on the culture of Kashmiris. Hence, the languages linked to these religions, i.e., Sanskrit (for Hinduism) and Arabic, Persian (for Islam) provide a major source of lexicon as far as marriage of Hindus and Muslims is concerned.

3.3.2 *va:zva:n*

Kashmiri ‘*va:zva:n*’ is a unique concept whereby ‘*va:zī*’ means the chef person with the rare culinary skills passed on through generations, and ‘*va:n*’-is the shop with abundant supplies of meats and delicacies.

The traditional number of courses for the *va:zva:n* is nearly thirty-six, though there can be fewer. The preparation is traditionally done by a ‘*vōstiva:zī*’ or head-chef with the assistance of a court of ‘*va:zī*’ or chefs. Hours of cooking and days of planning go into the making and serving of

a *va:zva:n* The menu, in *va:zva:n*, includes 4 to 5 different types of chutneys, 4-5 chicken dishes, and many more mutton dishes. A special item '*mutjan*' (sweet pulav) is also served.

The *va:zva:n* is not a simple meal but a ceremony. First the '*tašnô:r*' is passed around so as to wash hands of guests before meals. People sit in fours to eat this meal which is considered auspicious. A large plate called '*trô:m*' is used which is heaped with rice and the first few courses. Each successive course follows separately to allow savoring the distinct flavors. The meal ends with *gošta:bi* (a velvety textured meat ball in white yoghurt gravy).

The various lexical items comprising the semantic field of Wazwaan include:

<i>si:kh kaba:b</i>	minced meat roasted in skewers over hot Coals
<i>tabakhma:z</i>	ribs of lamb simmered in yoghurt till tender, then fried
<i>methima:z</i>	Kashmiri dish, meat mixture
<i>saphe:d kɔkur</i>	chicken (white; chicken with white soup)
<i>za:phrô:n' kɔkur</i>	chicken(with saffron)
<i>risti</i>	meat balls in a fiery red gravy
<i>roganjo:š</i>	tender lamb meat cooked with Kashmiri spices
<i>daniphol</i>	meat piece (a variety)
<i>kuphti</i>	minced mutton balls
<i>danivalkormi</i>	a mutton curry with lots of coriander
<i>a:bgo:š</i>	spicy lamb meat curry

<i>martsiva:ngankɔrmi</i>	an extremely hot lamb meat preparation
<i>šɔ:mikabab/šɔmiTiki</i>	minced mutton
<i>dɔdiphol</i>	meat piece of white colour
<i>go:šta:bi</i>	a velvety textured meat ball in white yoghurt gravy

The semantic field of *va:zva:n* includes the sub semantic field of spices without which the *va:zva:n* is not possible.

3.3.2.1 Sub Semantic Field: Spices for Wazwa:n

<i>pudni</i>	dry mint leaves
<i>da:lči:n</i>	cinnamon
<i>rɔŋ</i>	cloves
<i>lidiɾ</i>	turmeric
<i>ʒur</i>	cumin seeds
<i>biDiɔ:l</i>	black cardamom
<i>kɔŋ</i>	saffron
<i>maval</i>	dry cockscomb flower
<i>da:nival</i>	coriander/cilantro
<i>šɔ:nTh</i>	dry ginger powder
<i>bɔ:dʔa:nɪ</i>	fennel seeds
<i>ɔ:l</i>	green cardamom

<i>tamir</i>	tamarind
<i>pra:n</i>	shallots
<i>martsivā:gan</i>	red chili pepper
<i>nu:n</i>	salt
<i>ti:l</i>	oil
<i>vōr</i>	kashmiri masala mixture
<i>khaš kha:š</i>	poppy seed

3.3.2.2 Sub-Semantic Field: Tools and Utensils

<i>virī</i>	open fireplace
<i>bōDde:g</i>	cauldron
<i>lōkitde:g/de:gčī</i>	cooking pot
<i>trō:m</i>	big plate
<i>majmī</i>	big platter, salver, plate
<i>takhti</i>	wooden block
<i>ma:zkōn^j/divirkōn^j/matshikōn^j</i>	slab
<i>go:špa:r</i>	wooden hammer
<i>parišra:kh/zabahšra:kh/</i>	various kinds of knives
<i>pačišra:kh/pazišra:kh</i>	
<i>/šeštīršra:kh/Tōkišrakh</i>	

Analysis of the field:

The field of *va:zva:n* is analyzed on the basis of the presence/absence of the semantic properties of meat, fish and chicken using the semantic features of ‘+’ for the presence of feature and ‘-’ for the absence, using the method of componentiality as follows:

<i>si:kh kaba:b</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>tabakhma:z</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>methima:z</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>saphe:d kɔkur</i>	[-meat],[-fish],[+chicken]
<i>za:phrɔ:nⁱ kɔkur</i>	[-meat],[-fish],[+chicken]
<i>risti</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>rojanjo:š</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>daniphol</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>kuphti</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>danivalkɔrmi</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>a:bgo:š</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>šɔ:mikabab/šɔ:miTiki</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>dɔdiphol</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]
<i>go:šta:bi</i>	[+meat],[-fish],[-chicken]

Here meat refers to the preparations made from the meat of sheep/goat/cow, fish refers to the preparations made from fish-meat, and chicken refers to the items made from the chicken-meat.

The field of wazwaan is also analyzed on the basis of source of words as:

Word	Source
<i>kɔkur</i>	Sanskrit
<i>kɔrmi</i>	Turkish
<i>ma:z</i>	Sanskrit
<i>si:kh</i>	Persian
<i>tabakh</i>	Persian
<i>rogan</i>	Persian
<i>za:phrɔ:n^j</i>	Arabic
<i>da:lči:n</i>	Sanskrit
<i>rɔŋ</i>	Sanskrit
<i>moval</i>	Sanskrit
<i>nu:n</i>	Sanskrit
<i>martsivā:gan</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ti:l</i>	Sanskrit
<i>kɔŋ</i>	Sanskrit
<i>šõ:nTh</i>	Sanskrit
<i>lidiṛ</i>	Sanskrit

The field also presents a number of examples of compounding as:

<i>saphe:d+ kɔkur</i>	Persian+Sanskrit
<i>za:phrɔ:n^j+kɔkur</i>	Arabic+Sanskrit
<i>si:kh+kaba:b</i>	Persian+Persian
<i>tabakh+ma:z</i>	Persian+Sanskrit
<i>rogan+jo:š</i>	Persian+Persian

The variegated nature of semantic field of ‘*va:zva:n*’ is revealed by the fact that the words in this field owe their existence to different sources, e.g, ‘*kōkur*’, ‘*martsivangan*’ from Sanskrit, ‘*si:kh kaba:b*’ from Persian, and ‘*kormi*’ from Turkish.

3.3.3 Kinship Terminology

Kinship is one of the most basic principles for organizing individuals into social groups, roles and categories. “Kinship terminology refers to the words used in a specific culture to describe a specific system of familial relationships” (Source: [http:// www.en.wikipedia.org/kinship/05.08.2006/1100hrs](http://www.en.wikipedia.org/kinship/05.08.2006/1100hrs)). Kinship terminology refers to those words and terms that are used in a specific culture to describe a specific system of familial relationships. Kinship terminologies include the terms of address used in different languages or communities for different relatives and the terms of reference used to identify the relationship of these relatives to ego or to each other. It lists a specific system of familial relationships.

The definition of Kinship as given in the Britannica Concise Encyclopedia treats it as “...socially recognized relationships between people who are or are held to be biologically related or who are given the status of relatives by marriage, adoption, or other ritual. Kinship is the broad term for all the relationships that people are born into or create later in life that are considered binding in the eyes of society. Every person belongs to a family of orientation (e.g., mother, father, brothers or sisters); many adults also belong to a family of procreation (which includes a spouse or spouses or children)” (source: <http://www.britannicaonline.com/> 22.09.2006/1030hrs).

Kinship is the recognition of a relationship between persons based on descent or marriage. If the relationship between one person and another is considered by them to involve descent, the two are *consanguines* (“blood”) relatives. If the relationship has been established through marriage, it is *affinal*. (Stone, 1997:5)

In Kashmiri language, Kinship terms can be classified into two categories:

- A) Consanguineal
- B) Affinal

The dimensions of

- i) generation
- ii) lineality (direct ancestors and direct descendents) Vs. collaterality (kinsmen descended from one’s own ancestors i.e. uncles, brothers, nephews, etc) and
- iii) Sex; are very important in the study of Kinship terms in the Kashmiri language.

The items in the list of Semantic field of Kinship terminology of Kashmiri language are again divided into two main semantic sub fields i.e., Consanguineal and affinal.

3.3.3.1 Semantic Sub Field-Consanguineal

<i>mo:l</i>	father
<i>mo:j</i>	mother
<i>bo:y</i>	brother
<i>beni</i>	sister

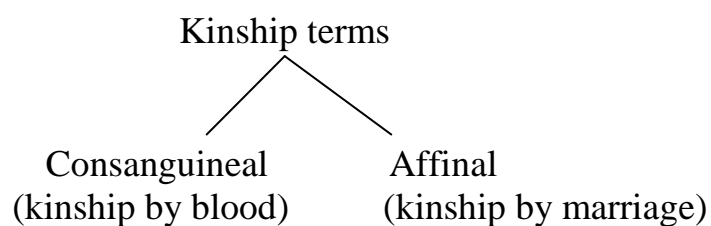
<i>ku:r</i>	daughter
<i>buD^jbab</i>	grand father
<i>na:n^j</i>	grand mother
<i>petir</i>	father's brother
<i>poph</i>	father's sister
<i>ma:m</i>	mother's brother
<i>ma:s</i>	mother's sister

(In Kashmiri language, '*buD^jbab*' and '*na:n^j*' are used both for paternal as well as maternal grandfather and grandmother, respectively. However, in some instances prefixes '*mo:l/mo:ɽ^j*' (father's) and '*mo:j/ma:ji*' (mother's) are added to make distinction between father's father and mother(*mo:ɽ^j -buDibab/na:n^j*); and mother's father and mother(*ma:ji-buDibab/na:n^j*).

3.3.3.2 Semantic Sub-Field Affinal

<i>kha:nda:r</i>	<i>husband</i>
<i>zana:n</i>	<i>wife</i>
<i>druy</i>	<i>husband's brother</i>
<i>za:m</i>	<i>husband's sister</i>
<i>sa:l</i>	<i>wife's sister</i>
<i>za:mitur</i>	<i>son-in-law</i>

So, the Kinship terms in Kashmiri is classified into two broad categories namely a) consanguineal and b) affinal as shown:



The following table shows that although these older terms are in use, but the upcoming trend of using the new terms cannot be ignored.

RELATION	KASHMIRI	ENGLISH
Husband's brother	<i>Druy</i>	<i>Brother-in-law</i>
Sister's husband	<i>be:mi</i>	<i>Brother-in-law</i>
Husband's sister's husband	<i>zô:mi:</i>	<i>Brother-in-law</i>
Wife's sister's husband	<i>sô:juv</i>	<i>Brother-in-law</i>
Husband's sister	<i>za:m</i>	<i>Sister-in-law</i>
Husband's brother's wife	<i>driyka:kin^j</i>	<i>sister-in-law</i>
Brother's wife	<i>bôyka:kin^j</i>	<i>sister-in-law</i>
Father's brother	<i>petir</i>	<i>Uncle</i>
Mother's brother	<i>ma:m</i>	<i>uncle</i>
Father's sister's husband	<i>pôphuv</i>	<i>uncle</i>
Mother's sister's husband	<i>ma:suv</i>	<i>uncle</i>
Father's sister	<i>pôph</i>	<i>Aunt</i>
Mother's sister	<i>ma:s</i>	<i>aunt</i>
Father's brother's wife	<i>pečin^j</i>	<i>aunt</i>
Mother's brother's wife	<i>ma:min^j</i>	<i>aunt</i>
Father's brother's son	<i>pitur bo:y</i>	<i>cousin</i>
Father's sister's son	<i>pôphtur bo:y</i>	<i>cousin</i>
Mother's brother's son	<i>ma:mitur bo:y</i>	<i>cousin</i>
Mother's sister's son	<i>ma:stur bo:y</i>	<i>cousin</i>

Father's sister's daughter	<i>pɔphtir beni</i>	<i>cousin</i>
Father's brother's daughter	<i>pitir beni</i>	<i>cousin</i>
Mother's brother's daughter	<i>mamitir beni</i>	<i>cousin</i>
Mother's sister's daughter	<i>ma:stir beni</i>	<i>cousin</i>

From the above table, it is clear that the words from English language like uncle, aunt, cousin, etc cover a large number of kinship terms; otherwise in Kashmiri, for each relation, there is a different term. This feature also owes its existence to the fact that the Kashmiri culture is, with every passing moment, experiencing influences from other languages.

Analysis of this field:

This field is analyzed on the basis of the presence/absence of the semantic properties of male, female, consanguineal and affinal using the semantic features of '+' and '-' to indicate the presence and absence of these features as shown:

<i>mo:l</i> (father)	[+male],[+consanguineal], [g2]
<i>mo:j</i> (mother)	[+female],[+consanguineal],[g2]
<i>beni</i> (sister)	[+female], [+consanguineal],[g3]
<i>ku:r</i> (daughter)	[+female], [+consanguineal], [g4]
<i>buDibab</i> (grand-father)	[+male],[+consanguineal], [g1]
<i>bo:y</i> (brother)	[+male],[+consanguineal],[g3]
<i>kha:vand</i> (husband)	[+male],[+affinal],[g3]

<i>druy</i> (husband's brother)	[+male],[+affinal], [g3]
<i>zana:n</i> (wife)	[+female], [+affinal],[g3]
<i>be:mi</i> (sisters husband)	[+male],[+affinal],[g3]

In the table above, different generations are labelled as:

- g1= grandfather/grandmother
g2= father/mother/aunt/uncle
g3= brother/sister/cousin
g4= son/daughter/nephew/niece
g5= grandson/granddaughter

The person for whom the relation exists is termed as 'ego', and stands in g3 generation.

The analysis is also done on the source of the words comprising the semantic field of kinship as shown:

Word	Source
<i>mo:l</i>	Sanskrit
<i>mo:j</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ma:mit̪r</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ma:s</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ma:stur</i>	Sanskrit
<i>masuv</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ma:mi^{n̪}</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ma:mitur</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ma:m</i>	Sanskrit

<i>za:m</i>	Sanskrit
<i>za:m̐tur</i>	Sanskrit
<i>beni</i>	Sanskrit

The semantic field of kinship terminology illustrates the point that there is cultural emphasis in Kashmiri kinship terminology, where each relation is denoted by a different term, e.g., ‘*ma:s*’ for mother’s sister and ‘*pɔph*’ for father’s sister.

3.3.4 Modes of Address

The use of language is also very important in the process of addressing in a particular culture, though most of the times non-verbal communication needs to accompany verbal communication. The modes of address may vary from culture to culture and from context to context. The proxemic point also affects this process of mode of addressing.

Each language has its own resources for social activities such as modes of address. Kashmiri language has a huge chunk of lexical items employed for this purpose used by the Muslim Kashmiris and nearly an equivalent corpus used by the Hindu Kashmiris. Kashmiri has a rich vocabulary of Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit origins employed by the Muslims and Hindus respectively.

The modes of address in Kashmiri reflect interpersonal relationships maintained in various contexts and situations. The modes of address represent the social hierarchy prevalent in the society. The use of modes of address reflects the relationship between the persons engaged in communication. It shows the social hierarchy, status and interrelationship

of the participants
(source:<http://www.iils.org/modesofaddress/30.09.2006/1315hrs>)

The lexical items constituting the semantic field of modes of address are:

I) Related to Kinsmen

Earlier

<i>bab</i>	used for father
<i>la:li</i>	used for grandfather
<i>To:Th</i>	used for father
<i>Ta:Thi</i>	used for grandfather
<i>bô:yTo:th</i>	used for elder brother
<i>beniTô:th</i>	used for elder sister
<i>bô:yla:l</i>	used for elder brother
<i>bô:yga:š</i>	used for younger brother
<i>benijigar</i>	used for younger sister
<i>bo:bi</i>	used for mother
<i>ded</i>	used for grand mother

Present

<i>papa</i>	used for father
<i>daddy</i>	used for father
<i>mummy</i>	used for mother
<i>mamma</i>	used for mother
<i>baya</i>	used for brother
<i>didi</i>	used for sister
<i>brotherji</i>	used for brother/brother-in-law

<i>sisterji</i>	used for sister
<i>bhaji</i>	used for sister

While as the terms like *aba*, *abaji*, *ami*, *amiji*, *da:da:*, *d:adi:*, *na:na:*, and *na:ni:* have been used in ancient times and are in current usage, also.

II) Other than Kinsmen

a) Professional terms

The suffixes ‘-saab’ and ‘-ji’ are added to address and to show the mark of respect.e.g.,

Da:khtarsô:b doctor

vôki:lsô:b lawyer

prôphsarsôb professor

sar teacher

mastarji: teacher

me:Damji: teacher

b) Second person pronouns are also used as modes of address. These are of two types:

i) familiar/non-honorific e.g., *tsi*

ii) polite/honorific plural e.g., *tohⁱ*

The honorific terms *mahra:*, *hôz*, *jina:b* and *sa:* are frequently used as terms of address with certain restrictions. Whereas *mahra:* and *hôz* are used for addressing Hindus and Muslims respectively, the term *jina:b* can be used either with Hindu or Muslim. The term *sa:* is used for showing

affection

or

intimacy(Source:<http://www.iils.org/koul.o.n/30.09.06/1320hrs>).

Analysis of the field:

The field is also analyzed on the basis of the source of the word comprising the semantic field as follows:

Word	Source
<i>papa</i>	English
<i>daddy</i>	English
<i>mummy</i>	English
<i>brother</i>	English
<i>sister</i>	English
<i>baya</i>	Urdu
<i>didi</i>	Urdu
<i>bhaji</i>	Urdu
<i>behna</i>	Urdu
<i>baba</i>	Persian
<i>la:li</i>	Persian
<i>To:Th</i>	Sanskrit
<i>Ta:Thi</i>	Sanskrit

There are a number of examples where two words are combined to form compound words as:

<i>bô:y +la:li</i>	Sanskrit+Persian
<i>bô:y +To:Th</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>beni+tô:Th</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>bô:y +ga:š</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>beni+jigar</i>	Sanskrit+Persian

The semantic field of modes of greeting shows that there is a rich vocabulary of Perso-Arabic and Sanskrit origins employed by the Muslims and Hindus respectively. Besides, the words/lexical items from Urdu/Hindi and English have also contributed to this field.

3.3.5 Arts and Crafts

The Valley of Kashmir has a rich heritage with respect to art and craft. The artistic genius of the Kashmiri people as expressed in the fields of shawl-making, embroidery, wood-work and wood carving, papier-mâché and metal work holds a huge importance in the entire world. The arts and crafts of Kashmir testify to the Kashmiri artist being a true admirer of nature which is reflected in the polished mirror of the designs and decorative patterns of ornamentation of the Kashmir arts. The natural beauty of Kashmir arts and crafts has made it a point of attraction and fame through the ages.

Kashmir region is bestowed with rich arts and crafts, be it the woodworks, papier-mâché, embroidery and carpet or shawl making. The woolen and silken carpets of Kashmir remain unparalleled on the national scene for quality and design. The crewel embroidered *pašmi:na*, and

embroidered *raphal* shawls, pattern of *kan'i* shawls, intricate wood carving, production of flora design in *papier-mâché* goods, etc., are some of the world famous crafts of Kashmir. Crafts in the valley vary from embroidery to shawl weaving, wood carving to *papier-mâché*, carpet weaving to *namdi* weaving and much more. The rich cultural heritage has passed on from on from generations.

Shawls

In the valley of Kashmir, Shawls have a very prestigious position and these shawls may vary in quality. The shawls may be defined in terms of three categories *woolen*, *pašmina* and *šahtu:s*. The *raphal* shawls are cheaper and coarse in texture as compared to the *pašmina* shawls. Cost of these shawls exclusively depends on the quality of the shawl and the stitch work done on it. Most expensive shawl is *šahtu:s* also known as ring shawl as it can literally pass through the ring and its material is known for the softness, lightness and warmth. There are various types of embroidery on these shawls; the *stitch work* and *so:zni* work are very common. Embroidery is usually done with the usage of three. *ô:r* or hook work is another type of embroidery work.

The *pašmina* shawl is woven with an embroidery pattern by using the dyed thread and warp. Artisans very expertly make the peculiar designs on these shawls depicting the nature like birds and trees, architectural designs or mythological figures. Sometimes embroidery is done with such mastery that both the sides of the shawl look same. This shawl is known as *ja:mivar* and costs in lakhs of rupees.

The words in this sub semantic field include:

Shawls/Shawlbañi

pašmini

raphal

šahtu:s

ja:mivar

kanisha:l

do:rukha ša:l

palida:r

do:rida:r

ni:mda:r

činarda:r

bada:mda:r

kandipoš

be:lda:r

Carpets

Kashmiri carpet is very famous throughout the world. Kashmir is known for the pure silken carpets that too knotted, knots denote the durability of the carpets and knots per inch is the easiest modes of durability measurement. The base of the carpets is usually made of cotton and sometimes silken base is also there. These Kashmiri shawls are hand woven and there is particular language that denotes the design to be carried out on the carpet. The material that is mainly used in these carpets include wool, silk, staple and yarn.

The art of weaving carpet arrived in Kashmir at the time of Sultan Zainul Abidin from the Persia and it is one reason the design from Persia dominate the carpet designs with a very little variation from the natives.

The items in this sub semantic field include:

ka:leenbafi

ka:lba:phtô:lim

Carpet Designs

čã:nd čuThayda:r

philida:r

gamlida:r

ni:lam

hamda:ndabida:r

mehra:bda:r

šama:da:r

bada:mda:r

umarkhayyam

lailmajlu:n

darba:rda:r

šaklida:r

Wood Carving

The wood carving is done only on the walnut wood and is available only in Kashmir. According to Trivedi (1996:55), “Wood carving is among the

best cottage industries of Kashmir. The intricately carved designs and the fine grain of walnut wood makes its carved products among the most attractive to be found anywhere.” The wood carving and fret work are with different depth levels. Deep carving is two or more inches deep and the popular motifs are dragon or lotus flower. Second comes the Shallow carving and is usually half inch or more deep, done on the entire flat surface, open or lattice work depicting the chinar motifs. Finally there comes the semi carving done on the thin panel along rim of surface containing the center motif.

There are four main types of wood carving done in Kashmir. These are:

- 1) Raised wood carving: in this type of wood carving, the surrounding wood is worked away leaving the design standing out.
- 2) Engraved wood carving: here the design is carved into the wood.
- 3) Undercut wood carving: in this type, the wood below the design is cut away leaving the design standing out delicately patterned.
- 4) Plain wood carving: in this, the article may be completely plain or it may have a little delicate engraving around the sides.

Some of the words making up this sub semantic field are:

khatamband

I) Wood carving tools

tu:r

litir

tari randi

II) Types

mo:j

mo:jba:dô:m

mo:jlôhôr

šašte:z

šašbara:n

III) Shapes/designs/types

morbî

čo:ras

poš

bada:m

rastî

tabîl

so:zin^j

Papier-Mâché

Papier-mâché is the most famous handicraft of Kashmir and is mostly exported to the European countries. The process of making papier-mâché begins with the soaking of paper until it disintegrates. Then the whole paper is pounded to fine pulp and added with the adhesive. The material is shaped over moulds and given particular shapes and left to dry. These moulds are then painted black that is the base color and left to dry again. Later Motifs are designed in gold or silver colors. Bed lamps, pen boxes, decorative are the common papier-mâché items made.

The words in this sub semantic field include:

Papier-Mâché

kala:b

gotsh

karku:t

astar

saphe:d katir

kaharba:

bišam

bo:r

rang ti ro:gan

naka:š

Chain Stitch and Crewel Work

Chain stitch, be it in the wool, silk or cotton, is done by hook rather than by needle. The hook is referred to as *∂:r*, and hook work covers a much larger area than needle work in the same amount of time.

Crewel is basically similar to chain stitch. It is also chain stitch done on a white background, but here the motifs, mainly stylized flower, do not cover the entire surface, and the background is not embroidered upon. Wool is almost invariably used in crewel work and color ways are not as elaborate as in chain stitch. This fabric is available in bolts, and is sold by the length. Crewel work is also executed on curtains, rugs, wall hangings and is considered as one of the finest quality of embroidery

work in Valley. They make excellent household furnishings being hand or machine washable.

The words in this sub semantic field include:

ḍ:r

ja:mi

ša:l

Depending on the amount of chain work done, Kashmiri shawls are named accordingly as:

- i) when the work is done at, only, two ends , the shawl is known as *palida:r* shawl
- ii) when the work is done at all the four ends, it is known as *du:rdar* shawl. And this *du:rdar* is crafted in two ways, *ba:da:m du:r* (almond shape) and *čina:r du:r*.

Willow Works or Wickerwork

The art of making baskets with the willow is the famous handicraft in valley and especially in the Hazratbal area of Srinagar city. The willow that profusely grows in the lakes and marshy land is dried and many beautiful things are made of it. The items like lamp shades, baskets, tables and chairs, etc., are especially made.

Some of the words related to this sub semantic field include:

ka:n'i

bā:s

bā:skan'i

(*ka:n'i*, *bā:s*, and *bā:skan'i* are materials made from willow that grows in lakes)

A large number of things are made from this wickerwork, like

<i>me:z</i>	table
<i>po:ši da:n</i>	flower vase
<i>kita:b ræk</i>	book case
<i>šingga:r Dabi</i>	make up box

Analysis of the field:

The semantic field of arts and crafts is analyzed on the basis of source as follows:

Word	Source
<i>ša:l</i>	Persian
<i>ša:lba:ph</i>	Persian
<i>da:r</i>	Persian
<i>jami</i>	Persian
<i>poš</i>	Sanskrit
<i>kô:li:n</i>	Turkish
<i>da:n</i>	Persian
<i>tu:r</i>	Sanskrit
<i>ô:r</i>	Sanskrit
<i>bā:s</i>	Sanskrit
<i>me:z</i>	Persian
<i>ba:da:m</i>	Persian
<i>kani</i>	Sanskrit

<i>šama</i>	Arabic
<i>darba:r</i>	Persian
<i>be:l</i>	Sanskrit
<i>astar</i>	Persian
<i>šakli</i>	Arabic
<i>mehra:b</i>	Arabic
<i>kita:b</i>	Arabic
<i>ræk</i>	English

The analysis of this field also shows the presence of compounding.
For example,

<i>darba:r+d:ar</i>	Persian+ Persian
<i>be:l+da:r</i>	Sanskrit+ Persian
<i>kandi+poš</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>šakli+da:r</i>	Arabic+ Persian
<i>šama+da:r</i>	Arabic+ Persian
<i>ba:da:m+da:r</i>	Persian+ Persian
<i>pali+da:r</i>	Sanskrit+ Persian
<i>bās+ka:n'i</i>	Sanskrit+Sanskrit
<i>kita:b+ræk</i>	Arabic+English

The semantic field of arts and crafts beautifully portrays that picture of Kashmir for which it is famous all over the world, be it carpets, shawls or Papier-mâché items.

Conclusion:

The analysis of some of the words, taken from the different semantic fields of Kashmiri, shows that the words comprising the semantic fields in Kashmiri show the presence of the process of compounding. The process of compounding exemplifies all possible combinations of words like Persian+Sanskrit, Sanskrit+Arabic, and English+Urdu etc. there are many examples of compounds belonging to the same source like Sanskrit+Sanskrit and Persian+Persian. Moreover, the analysis illustrates the point that the words of these semantic fields largely owe their existence to the sources like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic. Also, it is evident that the words of sub semantic field of Muslim marriage are derived mostly from Arabic and Persian sources, and the words in the Pandit marriage belong to the Sanskritic source.

One important aspect that is highlighted is the feature of the conversion of sub semantic fields into individual semantic fields. It is actually an attribute that is linked to the notion of semantic fields. The semantic field concept groups the items on certain similarities and resemblances, and this feature of similarities and resemblances, in the case of semantic field, follows the elastic nature. For example, on analyzing and observing the various sub semantic fields present in the semantic field of arts and crafts, an insight of the diversity of this field is illustrated. The best part of the sub semantic fields in this field is that the each of the field can in turn comprise an individual and independent semantic field.

Chapter 4



Language Change and Cultural Lexicon: Semantic Shifts and Relexicalization

4.1. INTRODUCTION TO LANGUAGE CHANGE

According to Naylor (1996:37), “Change is a necessary part of culture whereby groupings and individuals adjust or alter their beliefs, behaviors, and material and sociocultural productions. If humans and their cultures are to survive, they must adjust to the constantly changing environments.” Change is a word that depicts and denotes, among many other things, development, growth, and expansion. As a matter of fact, it is change that, in a way, keeps on to the way leading to continued existence. The phenomenon of language change has probably gained more public notice and criticism than any other linguistic issue.

David Crystal (2003:256,257), while defining language change, writes, “In Historical linguistics, a general term referring to change within a language over a period of time, seen as a universal and unstoppable process. The phenomenon was first systematically investigated by comparative philologists at the end of eighteenth century, and in the twentieth century by historical linguists and sociolinguists. All aspects of language are involved, though most attention has been paid to phonology and lexis, where change is most noticeable and frequent.”

It is an attested fact, nowadays, that all languages are continually changing. For instance, at any given moment the English language, for example, has a huge variety within itself, and this variety is known as synchronic variation. From these different forms comes the effect on

language over time that is known as diachronic change. So the tendency for languages to this process of change seems somewhat unavoidable and inevitable, but in most of the cases unobservable, and marks its imprint over a period of time.

4.1.1 Causes of Language-Change

Languages are constantly changing and the causes are many and varied. In this regard, Campbell and Mixco (2007:60) point out that important factors in “the explanation of language change is the identification of causal factors, both those that always bring about change and those that create circumstances known to facilitate change but in which, even when the factors are present, the change does not always take place.” Generally, linguists talk about two general ways in which language change takes place: “External change” and “Internal change”.

Language change occurs in accordance with both the external and internal causal factors. The external causal factors, according to Campbell and Mixco(*Ibid*,60) “ lie outside the structure of language itself and outside the human organism; they include such things as expressive uses of language, positive and negative social evaluations (prestige, stigma), the effects of literacy, prescriptive grammar, educational policies, political decree, language planning, language contact and so on.”

According to Campbell and Mixco (*Ibid*,60), “Internal causal factors rely on the limitations and resources of human speech production and perception, physical explanations of change stemming from the physiology of human speech organs and cognitive explanations involving the perception, processing or learning of language. These internal factors are largely responsible for the natural, regular, universal aspects of

language and language change.” Thus, the kinds of changes that result due to the way speakers of a language steadily alter and change their language over time are the internal causes of language change.

Ottenheimer (2006:209,210) writes, “Internal change, in contrast to external change, tends to be somewhat more predictable because existing structural patterns in a language can be seen as exerting more pressure in certain directions than others. A good example of this is the increasing use in American English of the third-person plural pronouns *they, them, their* in place of their singular counterparts *he/she, him/her* and *his/her*.”

Wardhaugh also accounts for language change from the internal and external factor point of view. Writes Wardhaugh (2003:190,191) “The traditional view of language change also favors a ‘family tree’ account of change and of the relationships among languages. Linguists tend to reconstruct the histories of related languages or varieties of a language in such a way that sharp differentiations are made between those languages or varieties, so that at one point in time one thing (that is, a language itself, or a variety, or even a specific linguistic item) splits into two or more, or is lost. More rarely, there is coalescence. The alternative ‘wave’ account of change and relationships is much less easy to work with. In this approach the various changes that occur must be seen as flowing into and interacting with one another. It is not at all easy to reconcile the need to find contrasts with the desire to maintain certain fluidity in boundaries.”

Thus, a number of factors are responsible for this process of language change, and there are different views that have been put forward to spell out different causes responsible for the process of language

change. The present study touches the viewpoints as given by scholars like J. H. Bredsdorff, Jean Aitchison, Brian D Joseph, and Adrian Beard.

Bredsdorff tried to explain the causes of language change in 1821 (Bredsdorff 1821/1886). The main factors that Bredsdorff considers to be responsible for the process of language change include mishearing, misunderstanding, misrecollection, imperfection of speech-organs, indolence, the tendency towards analogy, the desire to be distinct, the need for expressing new ideas, and influence from foreign languages. (Cited in Malmkjær, 2004:221)

Further Malmkjær (2004:222) mentions, “Some of the ideas as put forward by Bredsdorff are still viable today. For instance, it is observed that the tendency towards analogy, speaker’s desire for uniformity, for regular patterns, causes language to become more rather than less regular in syntax and phonology. Colloquial speech-which popular, though rarely expert, opinion often classifies as indolent- can also eventually result in changes in pronunciation, spelling, grammatical-patterning and the semantic system. The influence from foreign languages is clearly observable when new words enter a language and become absorbed in its grammar and pronunciation system, as when *pizza* receives the English plural *pizzas*, or when *weekend* is pronounced as beginning with /v/ in Danish and is given the plural ending –er. This often results in the ability of speakers of a language to express a new idea or name new thing-*pizzas* were at one time unfamiliar in Britain, and at one time Danish did not have a word that could express the conceptualization of the weekend as a whole. Similarly, new inventions often result in the need for new terminology, as when the advent of computers led to the coinage of the term *software* by analogy with *hardware*, which was itself borrowed from

another sphere, namely that of the traditional hardware store, selling things like nails, glue, string and various tool.”

Aitchinson also provides an account of the causes of language change. Writes Aitchinson (2001:197), “Change is likely to be triggered by social factors, such as fashion, foreign influence and social need. However, these factors cannot take effect unless the language is ‘ready’ for a particular change. They simply make use of inherent tendencies which reside in the physical and mental make-up of human beings. Causality, therefore, needs to be explored on a number of different levels. The immediate trigger must be looked at alongside the underlying propensities of the languages concerned, and of human languages in general.

A language never allows disruptive changes to destroy the system. In response to disruptions, therapeutic changes are likely to intervene and restore the broken patterns-though in certain circumstances therapeutic changes can themselves cause further disruptions by setting off a chain of changes which may last for centuries.”

Like Aitchinson, many other linguists, especially historical linguists, presented their points of view on the causes of language change. In this regard, Brian D Joseph’s paper entitled ‘ Historical Linguistics’ in *The Handbook of Linguistics* (eds Mark Aronoff and Jamie Rees-Miller,2003) touches upon, besides other things, the topic of change. Writes Brian (2003:118), “There are four main kinds of factors that play a role in inducing language change: psychological factors, physiological factors, systemic factors, and social factors. These all make sense in that they correspond to different aspects of language: language as a psychological “entity” housed (somewhere) in the brains of speakers,

language as the production of sounds and signs and forms through the physiology of the human body (e.g. the vocal tract), language as a system with regularities and interacting components, and finally language as a social “organism” that exists in the interactions between and among members of social groups.”

Adrian Beard (2004), in his book *Language Change*, also discusses the causes of language change as internal and external. The internal issues mainly involve looking at the way how new words are formed, the influence of dictionaries on spellings and meanings and so on and so forth. These internal issues are related to and within the general approach of external factors that have influenced and are influencing this process of language change e.g., the way changing social contexts are reflected in a language. Beard describes that the process of language change is bound up with the social change and that the language change is an ongoing process, rather than just historical study.

Besides the above mentioned causes of language change, there are a number of other factors like economy and language contact situation which also play due role in the process of language change.

- I. Economy: Speakers tend to make their utterances as efficient and effective as possible to reach their communication goals. Speaking involves, therefore, a planning of costs and benefits.
- I. Language-contact-extensive borrowing, especially in contact situations with bilinguals, multilinguals-borrowing affects all areas but mostly the lexicon.

In modern times language change is, for example, being brought about by technology. For example, mobile technologies have drastically altered language with the use of instant messaging and texting from

mobile phones. So, language changes, usually very slowly, sometimes very rapidly. .

In brief, language change can be defined as the process of modification and alteration of features at different levels like phonetic, morphological, syntactic and semantic over a period of time.

A. Change at the Lexical Level

Lexical change is probably the most frequent type of language change. For example, assertions can be made about the age of a speaker by observing his/her use of lexical items. It is very difficult to define precisely and accurately the vocabulary available to speakers of English. But the steady arrival of new words in the English language would make it an apparent choice of inquiry into language change. All the way through its history English has not only borrowed words generously from other languages but has recombined and recycled them to create new meanings.

B. Change at the Phonological Level

Phonological change refers to the changes in pronunciation that can come in a variety of forms. Some changes merely affect the way a single word is pronounced: older speakers across the United Kingdom tend to stress the first syllable in the word *controversy*, for instance, while younger speakers increasingly place the main stress on the second syllable, *controversy*. (source:<http://www.questia.com/22.09.2009.1030hrs>)

William Labov distinctively recorded the change in pronunciation in a relatively short period in the American resort of Martha's Vineyard and

showed how this was the result of social tensions and processes. Small-scale phonological changes are difficult to map and record, especially as the technology of sound recording only goes back a hundred years or so. So the only evidence to illustrate how language has changed over the centuries is written evidence of what human languages have sounded like.

C. Change at the Syntactic Level

Syntactic change is, no doubt, the manner by which the physiognomy of a particular language gets modified. Syntactic change affects grammar in its morphological and syntactic aspects and is seen as gradual, the product of chain reactions and subject to cyclic drift. Grammatical change, in turn, is a subtle process and not always obvious to observe, as grammatical change appears to spread more slowly than lexical change. The older, more conservative forms of speech might sometimes remain present in some regional dialects, but not in others. For instance, the use of the second person pronouns *thou*, *thee*, *thy* and *thine*, for instance, sound old-fashioned to most of English speakers, but are still heard in parts of northern England; although even there they are becoming increasingly associated with older speakers. (source: [http:// www. questia. com/22. 09. 2009. 1100hrs](http://www.questia.com/22.09.2009.1100hrs))

D. Change at the Semantic Level

Semantic change, also known as semantic shift or semantic progression describes the evolution of word usage, usually to the point that the modern meaning is radically different from the original usage. The appearance, rather the occurrence, of a new word is only the beginning of

its continuation. Once it becomes part of the language the meanings and applications it has for its speakers can shift dramatically, to the point of causing misunderstandings.

Chhibber (1987:68) states, “The meanings of linguistic signs do not stay the same. As compared to the phonological and the syntactic structure of a language, the semantic structure of a language is prone to change much more rapidly. Very often the changes in the semantic structure of a language become the primary concern of some books on semantics, and treated in this fashion, semantics becomes merely a history of lexis. Such treatment of semantic change is, however, mostly *ad hoc* and not supported by a theory of descriptive semantics.”

In diachronic (or historical) linguistics, semantic change is a change in one of the meanings of a word. Every word has a variety of senses and connotations which can be added, removed, or altered over time, often to the extent that cognates across space and time have very different meanings. An example of a recent semantic change is of the word *mouse*; with the advent of computer technology, the word for the rodent has been used as a referent for the input device.

The present chapter deals with the changes at the semantic level and at the lexical level paving the way to the processes of semantic shift and relexicalization.

4.2. SEMANTIC SHIFTS

The process of semantic shift is, for the most part, studied in accordance with the reference to the process of semantic change. Semantic shift is defined as a change in which the meaning of a word undergoes some

change (often somewhat related to its original meaning). This process occurs when existing words take a new meaning by shrinking or extending their domain or usage. It also results in an extension of the range of meanings when a word moves from one set of circumstances to another. For example, *navigator*, which once applied only to ships but, with the development of planes and cars, now applies to multiple forms of travel. Another example is Old English, *meat*, ('*mete*'), which referred to all forms of solid food while *flesh* (*flæsc*) referred to animal tissue, and *food* (*foda*) referred to animal fodder. *Meat* was eventually restricted to flesh of animals, then *flesh* restricted to the tissue of humans and *food* was generalized to refer to all forms of solid food.

Vocabulary items that acquire new meanings rub out some of their old meanings, depending upon the users. Though not all the vocabulary items of a language go through these processes of meaning change, at least, a few of the vocabulary items in almost all the living languages undergo these processes of meaning change. This can be a gradual change, or a sudden change, or both.

The meaning change can take place in two ways. They are:

- I. Meaning change within the same language, and
- II. Meaning change that takes place when a vocabulary item is borrowed from one language into another language.

Meaning change within the language:

The meaning change in the same language can take the following possibilities:

- i. Complete change in the original meaning of a vocabulary item.

- ii. Addition of new meanings,
- iii. Deletion of some of the meanings, and

Meaning Change Possibilities in Borrowing:

The meaning change due to borrowing of one vocabulary item from one language into another language has following possibilities.

1. Generalization is a process in which a particular vocabulary item used with a particular meaning gets the generalized meaning. Pen (from Latin '*penna*') is such a word. This had the meaning of 'feather used for writing'. It is now used to refer to all kinds of instruments used for writing purposes.
2. Specialization is in a way an opposite process of the generalization process. That is, if a word has a general meaning, the meaning will get restricted or specialized. Wife (from Germanic '*wībam*') is such a word. This was earlier used to refer to all women. Now it refers to 'wife' only.
3. Elevation or amelioration is the process in which a particular word, used to refer to people or objects of lesser status, gets an elevated position and is used to refer to people or objects of higher status. For example, the word symposium (from Greek *sympinein*, "to drink together") was used to refer to a drinking party but, now, it is used for a gathering in which discussions of a higher order are pursued.
4. Opposite to the process of elevation or amelioration is the process of degeneration or pejoratives. The words referring to things of a higher status begin to refer to things of lower status. Hypocrite (from Greek *hypokrites*) is such a word. This was earlier used to refer to an actor on the stage. Now it refers to a person who puts on a false appearance of

virtue. Similarly the word clown that was used to refer to a peasant now refers to a joker.

Semantic change examines how new meanings arise through language use, especially the various ways in which speakers and writers experiment with uses of words and constructions in the flow of strategic interaction with addressees. The development and change of the semantic structure of a word is always a source of qualitative and quantitative development of the vocabulary. The word being the linguistic realization of notion, it changes with the progress of human consciousness. This process is reflected in the development of lexical meaning. As the human mind achieves an even more exact understanding of the world of reality and the objective relationships that characterize it, the notions become more and more exact reflection of real things. The history of the social, economic and political life of people, the progress of culture and science bring about changes in notions and things influencing the semantic aspect of language.

The causes of semantic change, like language change, may be grouped under two main headings, linguistic and extralinguistic ones. The first one deals with changes due to the constant interdependence of vocabulary units in language and speech, such as differentiation between synonymous, changes taking place in connection with ellipsis and with fixed contents, changes resulting from ambiguity in certain contexts, and some other cases.

The extralinguistic causes are determined by the social nature of the language: they are observed in changes of meaning resulting from the development of the notion expressed and the thing named and by the appearance of new notions and things. In other words, extra -linguistic

causes of semantic change are connected with the development of the human mind as it moulds reality to conform to its needs.

Languages are powerfully affected by social, political, economic, cultural and technical change. The influence of these factors upon linguistic phenomena is studied by sociolinguistics. It shows that social factors can influence even structural features of linguistic units. Terms of science, for instance, have a number of specific features as compared to words used in other spheres of human activity.

4.2.1. Semantic Change-Typologies and Types

A number of taxonomic schemes have been suggested for semantic change. The most widely accepted scheme in the English-speaking academic world is from Leonard Bloomfield. These typologies list some other types of changes like lexical, besides the semantic ones, under the category of semantic change.

1. Typology by Leonard Bloomfield(1933)

The typology given by Bloomfield distinguishes between the terms like narrowing, widening, metaphor, metonymy, synecdoche, hyperbole, litotes, degeneration and elevation as shown in the following table:

Narrowing	it means a change from superordinate level to subordinate level, e.g., meat which meant food has changed its meaning to the flesh of an animal, thus narrowing.
Widening	widening means a change from subordinate level to superordinate level,

	e.g., <i>bird</i> which meant nestling, young bird has widened its meaning to bird in general.
Metaphor	metaphor means the change based on similarity of thing, e.g., <i>bitter</i> "biting" to "not sweet"
Metonymy	it is the change based on nearness in space or time, e.g., <i>jaw</i> "cheek" to "jaw"
Synecdoche	change based on whole-part relation is known as synecdoche, e.g., <i>town</i> "fence" to "city"
Hyperbole	hyperbole is the change from stronger to weaker meaning, e.g., <i>astound</i> "strike with thunder" to "surprise strongly"
Litotes	litotes is defined as the change from weaker to stronger meaning, e.g., <i>kill</i> "torment" to "kill"
Degeneration	e.g., <i>knave</i> "boy" to "servant" shows the perfect example of degeneration.
Elevation	e.g., <i>knight</i> "boy" to "knight" is the perfect example of elevation.

Table 4.1 Typology by Leonard Bloomfield

2. Andreas Blank (1998)

The typology as given by Andreas Blank is shown in the following table:

Metaphor	it is the change based on similarity between concepts, e.g., <i>mouse</i> "rodent" to "computer device"
Metonymy	it is defined as the change based on contiguity between concepts, e.g., <i>horn</i> "animal horn" to "musical instrument"

Synecdoche		same as defined in the typology given by Leonard Bloomfield
specialization of meaning	of	it is the downward shift in a taxonomy, e.g., <i>corn</i> "corn" to "wheat" (UK)
generalization of meaning	of	it is the upward shift in a taxonomy, e.g., <i>hoover</i> "Hoover vacuum cleaner" to "any type of vacuum cleaner"
co-hyponymic transfer		it is the horizontal shift in a taxonomy, e.g., the confusion of <i>mouse</i> and <i>rat</i> in some dialects
antiphrasis		the change based on a contrastive aspect of the concepts is known as antiphrasis, e.g., <i>perfect lady</i> in the sense of "prostitute"
auto-autonymy		it is the change of a word's sense and concept to the complementary opposite, e.g., <i>bad</i> in the slang sense of "good"
auto converse		auto converse is the lexical expression of a relationship by the two extremes of the respective relationship, e.g., <i>take</i> in the dialectal use as "give"
ellipsis		semantic change based on the contiguity of names is ellipsis, e.g., <i>car</i> "cart" → "automobile", due to the invention of the (<i>motor</i>) <i>car</i>
folk etymology		folk etymology refers to the semantic change based on the similarity of names, e.g., French <i>contredanse</i> , orig. English <i>country dance</i>)

Table 4.2 Typology by Andreas Blank

3. Karl Reisig(1839)

Reisig's ideas for a classification were published posthumously. He resorts to classical rhetoric and distinguishes between synecdoche, metonymy, and metaphor as shown in the following table:

Synecdoche	as per Reisig's typology these include the shifts between part and whole
Metonymy	shifts between cause and effect are included in metonymy according to the typology as given by Reisig
Metaphor	Reisig uses the term metaphor in its normal usage

Table 4.3 Typology by Karl Reisig

4. Hermann Paul (1880)

Hermann's typology is shown in the following table:

1. specialization: enlargement of single senses of a word's meaning
2. specialization on a specific part of the contents: reduction of single senses of a word's meaning
3. transfer on a notion linked to the based notion in a spatial, temporal or causal way

Table 4.4 Typology by Hermann Paul

5. Arsène Darmesteter (1887)

The typology of Arsène Darmesteter mainly differentiates between the terms metaphor, metonymy, widening of meaning, and narrowing of meaning as shown in the following table:

Metaphor
metonymy
widening of meaning
narrowing of meaning

Table 4.5 Typology by Arsène Darmesteter

The last two are defined as change between whole and part, which would today be rendered as *synecdoche*.

6. Michel Bréal (1899)

Following is the table showing the typology as proposed by Michel Bréal:

1. restriction of sense is the change from a general to a special meaning
2. enlargement of sense is the change from a special to a general meaning
3. metaphor

**Table
4.6
Typol
ogy
by
Miche**

l Bréal

7.Gustaf Stern (1931)

The typology for semantic change as suggested by Gustaf Stern is shown in the following table:

Substitution	it is the change related to the change of an object, of the knowledge referring to the object, of the attitude toward the object, e.g., <i>artillery</i> "engines of war used to throw missiles" changed into "mounted guns", <i>atom</i> "inseparable smallest physical-chemical element" to "physical-chemical element consisting of electrons", <i>scholasticism</i> "philosophical system of the Middle Ages" to "servile adherence to the methods and teaching of schools"
Analogy	it is the change triggered by the change of an associated word, e.g., <i>fast</i> adj. "fixed and rapid" ← <i>faste</i> adv. "fixedly, rapidly")
Shortening	e.g., <i>periodical</i> ← <i>periodical paper</i> depicts shortening
Nomination	Stern defines it as the intentional naming of a referent, new or old, with a name that has not previously been used for it e.g., <i>lion</i> "brave man" ← "lion"
regular transfer	it is defined as a subconscious Nomination
Permutation	it is the non-intentional shift of one referent to another due to a reinterpretation of a situation, e.g., <i>bead</i> "prayer" → "pearl in a rosary"

Table 4.7 Typology by Gustaf Stern

8. Stephen Ullmann (1957, 1962)

Ullmann distinguishes between nature and consequences of semantic change:

i) Nature of semantic change : Depending on the nature of the semantic change, Ullmann enlists the following types:

metaphor	change based on a similarity of senses
metonymy	change based on a contiguity of senses
folk-etymology	change based on a similarity of names
ellipsis	change based on a contiguity of names

Table 4.8.a Typology of Stephen Ullmann

ii) Consequences of semantic change : On the basis of the consequences of semantic change, Ullmann differentiates between widening of meaning, narrowing of meaning, amelioration of meaning, and Pejoration of meaning as shown in the following table:

Widening of meaning	raise of quantity
Narrowing of meaning	loss of quantity
Amelioration of meaning	raise of quantity
Pejoration of meaning	loss of quantity

Table 4.8.b Typology of Stephen Ullmann

From the above list of typologies, typology by Andreas Blank (1998) has gained more and more acceptance. Although it was very difficult and problematic for Andreas Blank to include, both, amelioration and pejoration of meaning, as well as strengthening and weakening of meaning. According to Blank, these are not objectively classifiable phenomena; moreover, all Blank has shown that all of the examples listed under these headings can be grouped into the other phenomena.

4.3. RELEXICALIZATION

The term relexicalization as coined and defined by Michael Alexander Kirkwood Halliday is a process in which there is substitution of invented, unofficial words in certain areas of vocabulary in languages. It is defined as the process of systematic alteration of words, and the creation of new words, which are lexically opaque (their meaning is obscured). In such a process, new words are used for the older ones

The term relexicalization is treated synonymous to the term relexification. As far as the term relexification is concerned, it was coined by Stewart in 1962. According to Stewart (1962:46), “The vocabulary derived from one source language has been largely replaced...by a more recent vocabulary derived from another language, while the original grammatical structure is preserved... This process of relexification seems to be the converse of restructuralization.” It is the process of vocabulary substitution in which the only information adopted from the target language in the lexical entry is the phonological representation.

The term relexification refers to the process of replacing (all or a large number of) the words of one language with the words from another language, while the grammar of the original language remains intact. This

term was originally used for creole languages, whose grammar is often thought to be derived from their (e.g. African) substrate languages, while their words derive from the European lexifier languages.

(<http://www.glottopedia.com/relexification/11.11.2007.1300hrs>)

The use of new words and concepts in place of the old words and concepts is what is known as relexicalization. It can also be taken as the process of renaming. There are a number of factors that attribute to this process like

- i) Convenience
- ii) Ease in lifestyle
- iii) Acceptance , and
- iv) Need etc

All of these factors are interconnected in one way or the other and pave way to this process of relexicalization.

4.4. SEMANTIC SHIFT AND RELEXICALIZATION IN KASHMIRI CULTURAL LEXICON

The process of change in the Kashmiri language follows both the external as well as the internal factor. The processes of language like borrowing and language contact are highly integrated in Kashmiri language and are categorized under the ‘external’ factor of language change. The Kashmiri language, like other languages, experiences contact with other languages followed by the process of borrowing.

Similarly the ‘internal’ factor of language change is observed in Kashmiri language, whereby a language gets modified over time. The internal factor of language change includes the linguistic processes like semantic shift.

Kashmiri language has been mainly influenced by languages like Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic (mainly through Persian) in the past, and even by this time is responding well to the influences received from languages like Urdu, Hindi and English etc. With the process of language change, the phonetic, the morphemic and the semantic structure of the Kashmiri language has also changed over the period of time. The change in the semantic domain/content of the Kashmiri language is the basic premise for the occurrence processes like semantic shift and Relexicalization.

As these processes are deeply rooted and linked to the process of language change, they are likely to influence culture. As the changes in the language take place, the change in the meaning of the cultural lexicon is inevitable.

4.4.1.Semantic Shift in Kashmiri Cultural Lexicon

Semantic shift, as described above, is that process in which a word takes on a new meaning, often related to the original, and loses its original one. And this ability of words to take on a new meaning capacitates an entire sentence/phrase/ clause of a new meaning. This process of semantic shift is very well exhibited in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri language. There are a number of instances whereby meaning associated with a word has been extended or narrowed. Following are given some of the examples of semantic shifts in the Kashmiri cultural lexicon:

1. *'khatim'*

Source: Arabic
Meaning: finish, complete
Meaning in Kashmiri: finish, recitation of Quranic verses as an offering to Allah

Explanation: In Kashmiri, *'khatim'* is used for the occasion when Quranic verses are recited as an offering to Allah (swt), besides its original meaning of 'finish, complete'. So the word *'khatim'* has extended its domain of usage by a complete shift from its original meaning.

2. *'bab'*

Source : Persian
Meaning: father
Meaning in Kashmiri: father, grandfather, saints

Explanation: *'bab'* in Persian is used to address father. In Kashmiri it is used for father, grandfather (both paternal as well as maternal). Besides this, the word *'bab'* is affixed to the names of saints as a mark of respect, for example *ahad bab*. The word *'bab'* has extended its usage in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri.

3. *‘həki:m’*

Source: Arabic
Meaning: Philosopher, intelligent, physician
Meaning in Kashmiri: physician

4. Explanation: *‘həki:m’* is used in Kashmiri for a person who practices Unani medicine(branch of medicine) in contrast to its meaning in Arabic as philosopher. So the word *‘həki:m’* has added to its domain of meaning in Kashmiri.

5. *‘varta:v’*

Source: Sanskrit
Meaning: use, custom, character, gifts
Meaning in Kashmiri: gifts(cash and kind)

Explanation: *‘varta:v’* is a term in Kashmiri which is mainly used in the context of engagements and weddings. It refers to the gifts, in the form of cash and kind that are presented to bride and groom on their engagement and/ or wedding. The term has, therefore, narrowed its use from its original meaning of use, character, custom, and gifts in Sanskrit.

6. *'hə:ziri:'*

Source: Arabic
Meaning: Obeisance, Presence
Meaning in Kashmiri: Return gifts(cash and kind)

Expalnation: *'hə:ziri:'* is the word that is associated with marriage in Kashmiri cultural lexicon. It means the gifts given by the side of bride to the groom's side in response to the gifts that are given to the bride by groom's side at the time of engagement. The meaning of *'hə:ziri:'* is entirely different from its original meaning of 'obeisance,' in Arabic.

7. *'pi:r'*

Source: Persian
Meaning: Old person
Meaning in Kashmiri: A Saint

Explanation: The word *'pi:r'* is used in Kashmiri for a person of exceptional holiness which is a shift from its original meaning of 'old' in Persian.

8. *'hama:m'*

Source: Arabic
Meaning: bathroom
Meaning in Kashmiri: bathroom, room

Explanation: In addition to its meaning of bathroom, the word ‘*hama:m*’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to a room that gets heated up by the burning of wood beneath the base, and this base is made of stones.

9. ‘*dargah*’

Source: Persian
Meaning: Royal Court, shrine
Meaning in Kashmiri: a shrine

Explanation: ‘*dargah*’ is used in Kashmiri for shrine, and the most famous example in this regard is Hazratbal shrine commonly referred to as ‘*dargah*’ by local masses. So this word has shifted from its original meaning of ‘court’ in Persian.

10. ‘*kəhvi*’

source: Persian
Meaning: Coffee
Meaning in Kashmiri: ‘Kashmiri tea’

11. Explanation: The word ‘*kəhvi*’ is invariably used in Kashmiri for the tea made of ‘*da:lči:n*’(cinnamon), ‘*ə:l*’(green cardamom) and

sometimes also ‘*kɔŋ*’(saffron) in contrast to its original meaning of ‘coffee’ in Persian.

12. ‘*khaza:ni:*’

Source: Arabic
Meaning: Treasure
Meaning in Kashmiri: treasure, water tank

Explanation: In addition to its original meaning of ‘treasure’, the word ‘*khaza:ni:*’ is used in Kashmiri for the water tanks that are fitted in ‘*hama:m*’(bathroom).

13. ‘*həlvɪ*’

Source: Persian
Meaning; Sweet meat
Meaning in Kashmiri: sweet pudding

Explanation: The Persian word ‘*həlvɪ*’ is used in Kashmiri to mean sweet pudding usually served as dessert, in contrast to its original meaning of ‘sweet meat’. So the word has shifted its meaning in Kashmiri.

14. ‘šaharun’

Source: English
Meaning: A device used for easing the foot into a shoe
Meaning in Kashmiri: A device used for easing the foot into a shoe, an additional device used in ‘kāṅgīr’ (fire-pot)

Explanation: The word ‘šaharun’ has extended its domain of use by the additional meaning of ‘a device used in ‘kāṅgīr’ and also retaining its original meaning of ‘a device used for easing the foot into a shoe’.

15. ‘bakhta:va:r’

Source: Persian
Meaning: lucky
Meaning in Kashmiri: rich

Explanantion: This word ‘bakhta:va:r’ has got somewhat related meaning of being rich in Kashmiri in contrast to its original meaning in Persian, that is of being lucky.

16. ‘yezman’

Source: Sanskrit
Meaning: Head of the family
Meaning in Kashmiri: father of bride/groom

Explanation: ‘yezman’ is used in Kashmiri for the father of bride and/or groom, and similarly the word ‘yezmanba:y’ is used for the mother of bride and/or groom.

17. ‘sab’

Source: Sanskrit
Meaning: meeting
Meaning in Kashmiri: gathering of guests

Explanation: The gathering of guests and invitees on occasions like engagements and marriages is termed as ‘sab’ in Kashmiri. The word has narrowed its semantic domain in the Kashmiri cultural lexicon with respect to its original meaning of meeting in Sanskrit.

18. ‘sarpō:š’

Source: Persian
Meaning: any kind of cover, lid
Meaning in Kashmiri: lid

Explanation: The word ‘sarpō:š’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to lids that are used to cover the big plates known as ‘trə:m’. So the word has narrowed its semantic use from its original Persian meaning of any type of cover.

19. ‘nišə:nⁱ’

Source: Persian
Meaning: memorable, engagement
Meaning in Kashmiri: engagement

Explanation: ‘nišə:nⁱ’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to the ceremony whereby the boy and girl are formally engaged to each other. The word has restricted its usage from the original meanings of memorable and engagement in Persian.

20. ‘nika:h’

Source: Arabic
Meaning: marriage, wedding, contract of marriage
Meaning in Kashmiri: marriage contract

Explanation: The word ‘nika:h’ denotes the marriage contract in Kashmiri in contrast to its multiple meanings of marriage, wedding and marriage contract in Arabic.

21. ‘zana:n’

Source: Persian
Meaning: wife
Meaning in Kashmiri: wife, woman

Explanation: Apart from its original meaning of wife in Persian, the word ‘zana:n’ has extended its semantic usage in Kashmiri referring to woman and/or lady.

22. ‘mahara:z’

Source: Sanskrit
Meaning: King
Meaning in Kashmiri: Bridegroom

Explanation: The word ‘mahara:z’ is used in Kashmiri to refer to grooms and/ or to the males who have just tied the marital knot.

23. ‘mahren’

Source: Sanskrit
Meaning: Queen
Meaning in Kashmiri: bride

Explanation: The word ‘mahren’ is used in the same way as ‘mahara:z’, that is, to refer to brides and to females who have just tied the marital knot.

The above account shows in a lucid way the process of semantic shift in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri. As is clear, the narrowing and widening of meaning are mostly prevalent in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri.

4.4.2. Relexicalization in Kashmiri Cultural Lexicon

Relexicalization is the process which signifies the process of language change. There is a large list in the Kashmiri cultural lexicon consisting of new words and concepts that are used in place of the old ones. Not only this, there is a large number of additions or new entries to the repertoire of Kashmiri cultural lexicon.

Relexicalization is an important process in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri to meet the challenges and demands of the contemporary times. The renamed (or the relexicalized) terms make it possible to ease the way leading towards successful communication which is acceptable to the majority of people by avoiding obsolete terms and deficiencies. It is the need because of the strong influences of education, fashion and the revolution brought about by the developments in the field of information technology and the processes of modernization, globalization, etc. There is, also, the presence of social pressure to accept these terms and make them part and parcel in the everyday communication. For example, the uses of the terms like sir, madam, and bread etc in place of '*ma:sterji*', '*madamji*' and '*Dabaltsot*', etc.

The process of relexicalization in cultural lexicon of Kashmiri will be studied with reference to the categories as mentioned below:

1. Kinship terminology
2. Modes of greetings
3. Food
4. Clothing
5. Furnishing
6. Utensils
7. Structure of Houses

8. Amusement and pastimes

All these are intricately associated to the Kashmiri culture, and form a major portion of the Kashmiri cultural lexicon.

An account of the different categories follows:

1. Kinship terminology:

Kinship terminology refers to those words and terms that are used in a specific culture to describe a specific system of familial relationships. Kinship terms, according to E. R. Leach(1958) are “category words by means of which an individual is taught to recognize the significant groupings in the social structure into which he is born” (Source: [http://www. google.com/kinship/15.06.2008/1100hrs](http://www.google.com/kinship/15.06.2008/1100hrs)). All human languages have a kinship term system, which is clearly highlighted in address system of a language. Without exception, all kinship term systems make use of such factors as sex, age, generation, blood and marriage in their society.

Kinship terminologies distinguish between relatives by blood and marriage. This distinction has been labelled as consanguineal (for relatives by blood) and affinal (for relatives by marriage).

CONSANGUINEAL	AFFINAL
Father(F)	Husband(H)
Mother(M)	Wife(W)
Sister(Z)	Husband's brother(HB)
Son(S)	Son's wife(SW)
Daughter(D)	Sister's husband(ZH)

Brother(B)	Daughter's husband(DH)
Brother, elder(EB)	Wife's sister(WS)
Brother, younger(YB)	Wife's brother(WB)
Father's father(GP)	Husband's mother(HM)
Mother's mother(GP)	Husband's father(HM)
Son's son (GC)	Wife's father(WF)

The study of kinship terms is an interesting field of study in Kashmiri. Here again the terms are distinguished into relatives by blood (i.e., consanguineal) and relatives by marriage (i.e. affinal). Kinship terms in Kashmiri distinguish between sexes, e.g., the difference between a brother and a sister, and between generations, e.g., the difference between a child and a parent.

Some of the terms listed in the consanguineal category include:

<u>KASHMIRI</u>	<u>GLOSS</u>
<i>mo:l</i>	Father
<i>mo:j</i>	Mother
<i>beni</i>	Sister
<i>nečuv</i>	Son
<i>ku:r</i>	Daughter
<i>bo:y</i>	Brother
<i>buDibab</i>	Father's father
<i>na:n^J</i>	Mother's mother
<i>zur</i>	Son's son
<i>pitur bo:y</i>	father's brother's son
<i>pitir beni</i>	father's brother's daughter

<i>ma:stur bo:y</i>	mother's sister's son
<i>ma:stir beni</i>	mother's sisters daughter
<i>ma:mitur bo:y</i>	mother's brother's son
<i>ma:mitir beni</i>	mother's brothers daughter
<i>pɔphtur bo:y</i>	father's sister's son
<i>pɔphtir beni</i>	father's sisters daughter

Some of the terms in the affinal category include:

Kashmiri	English
<i>kha:vand</i>	husband
<i>zana:n</i>	wife
<i>druy</i>	husband's brother
<i>driyka:kin^j</i>	husband's brother's wife
<i>za:m</i>	husband's sister
<i>zə:mi:</i>	husband's sister's husband
<i>be:mi</i>	sister's husband
<i>za:mitur</i>	son-in-law

The Kinship terminology in Kashmiri is studied in accordance with:

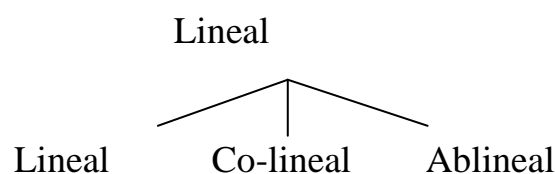
- i) Generation-different generations are labelled in relation to 'ego'.('ego' is the person in discussion i.e. for whom relation exists)

For example g-1, g-2, g-3, g-4, and g-5

<i>g-1</i>	<i>buD^jbab(grand-father), na:n^j(grand-mother)</i>
<i>g-2</i>	<i>mo:l(father), mo:j(mother), petir(uncle)</i>
<i>g-3</i>	<i>bo:y(brother), beni(sister)</i>
<i>g-4</i>	<i>nečuv(son), ku:r(daughter)</i>
<i>g-5</i>	<i>zur(grand-son/daughter)</i>

Ego stands in g-3 group

ii) Lineality- The relations may be direct or indirect.



For example,

<i>Lineal</i>	<i>buD^jbab(grand-father), mo:l(father), nečuv(son)</i>
<i>Co-lineal</i>	<i>bo:y(brother), petir(uncle)</i>
<i>Ablineal</i>	<i>pitur-bo:y/beni, ma:mitir- bo:y/beni(cousin)</i>

iii) Sex: Kashmiri distinguishes between male and female cousins by suffixes like *-ur* in case of males, and *-ir* in case of females.

For example,

+male(cousin)	<i>ma:mit-/pit-/ma:st-ur bo:y</i>
-male(cousin)	<i>ma:mit-/pit-/ma:st-ir beni</i>

+male	<i>mo:l(father)</i>
-male	<i>mo:j(mother)</i>

The above terms in the consanguineal and affinal categories of Kashmiri kinship terminology are in use. However, a large number of terms have undergone a sort of relexicalization in the sense that other terms are nowadays being used interchangeably in their place. Some of the examples are given below:

RELATION	OLD TERM	NEW TERM
Father's brother	<i>petir</i>	Uncle
Mother's brother	<i>ma:m</i>	Uncle
Father's sister's husband	<i>pɔphuv</i>	Uncle
Mother's sister's husband	<i>ma:suv</i>	Uncle
Father's sister	<i>pɔph</i>	Aunty
Mother's sister	<i>ma:s</i>	Aunty
Mother's brother's wife	<i>ma:miⁿ</i>	Aunty

Father's brother's son	<i>pitur bo:y</i>	Cousin
Father's sister's son	<i>pɔphtur bo:y</i>	Cousin
Mother's brother's son	<i>ma:mɪtur bo:y</i>	Cousin
Mother's sister's son	<i>ma:stur bo:y</i>	Cousin
Father's sister's daughter	<i>pɔphtɪr beni</i>	Cousin
Father's brother's daughter	<i>pitɪr beni</i>	Cousin
Mother's brother's daughter	<i>ma:mitɪr beni</i>	Cousin
Mother's sister's daughter	<i>ma:stɪr beni</i>	Cousin

There are a number of factors like education and urban/rural setting etc. which determine the use of these new terms in the kinship terminology of Kashmiri. For example, majority of the educated class prefer to use the term cousin for '*piturbo:y*', '*pitirbeni*', '*ma:sturbo:y*', '*mastirbeni*', '*pɔphturbo:y*', '*pɔphtirbeni*', '*ma:miturbo:y*', and '*ma:mitirbeni*'. Likewise the people in urban areas mostly use the terms papa/daddy, and mummy for father in place of '*To:Th/bab*' and '*mo:j*' respectively.

2 Modes of greeting

Greeting is defined as the word or gesture of welcome and salutation, or the act or an instance of welcoming or saluting on meeting. Greeting is not only to be looked upon as a usage of certain rules but it is a social practice which is governed by the situation in which the greeter says what is expected by the one being greeted. The key constitutive essentials of a greeting situation can be identified in terms of certain sociolinguistic

variables, which determine the use of different types of greetings like the spatio-temporal setting of the greetings (i.e. in a greeting situation time and place are the two important dimensions that bind a social occasion. There are certain forms of greetings which are prescribed for one place but are not prescribed at another), participants (it means the caste, age, gender, education, religion, profession and status of the greeters and the persons being greeted), and communicative intent or the purpose of greetings (i.e. the function of a greeting is in due course derived from a certain communicative intent, or the purpose for which the two parties are engaged in interaction.) etc.

Modes of greeting vary from culture to culture and from person to person. In a greeting situation, two persons come in contact in a particular ethnic situation, which is characterized by means of some paralinguistic features like gestures accompanied with certain statements.

A large number of changes and additions are seen in case of modes of greetings in the context of Kashmiri cultural lexicon. The greetings between man and man may vary from that of a greeting between woman and woman, or man and woman. The greetings between man and man are less complicated than that of the greeting between woman and woman and/or man and woman. Between man and man, the participants may just say '*sala:m*' or '*namaska:r*', or enquire about the health of one another. The greetings of women addressing other women are a bit complicated and are likely to have as their content comments expressing appreciation about each other's appearance or dress. However, the greetings between a man and a woman are a bit more formal and restricted.

The mode of greeting is also determined by the factor like age, education, and religion etc. For example, the people of same age prefer to

be less formal and use the terms in a simple manner like '*sala:m*' and '*namaska:r*'. The greetings like hi and hello is common among educated people. The factor of religion is also very important as far as the mode of greeting is concerned. For example, '*assala:mualaykum*' is used between two Muslims, '*namaska:r*' is used among Hindus, and '*a:da:b*' is the term used by a Muslim while greeting a Hindu, and vice versa.

One can observe relexicalization in greeting also. For example, the greeting situation between persons of same age exemplifying the process of relexicalization is given as:

Earlier- *sala:m*, *assala:mualaykum*, *namaska:r*

Now i.e. relexicalized- hi, hello

Hi, hellos are addition to the list of greeting between the persons of same age, while *sala:m*, *assala:mualaykum* are in use. But the grownups prefer the additions.

In the contemporary society, parents greet their kids and in response get the same or different greeting. For example, hi beta , hi mom, good morning beta, good morning papa etc.

The two social classes, i.e., Muslims and Pandits, used mainly '*a:da:b*', '*namaska:r*', and '*assala:mualaykum*' as per following:

Muslim to Muslim	<i>assala:mualaykum</i>
Pandit to Pandit	<i>namaska:r</i>
Muslim to Pandit and vice-versa	<i>a:da:b</i>

But, nowadays, this type of distinction has been replaced by lexical items like Hi, Hello, even though the above listed ones are also in use. The choice, between the two, is mainly determined by the context of

formality. For instance, students use both ‘*assala:mualaykum*’/‘*a:da:b/namaska:r*’ and ‘hello’ while greeting their teachers, but very rarely use ‘hi’. While as ‘hi’ and ‘hello’ is a routine among students. Similarly, the words like good morning, good evening, good night, ta ta, bye bye, and many others are becoming common day by day.

MODES OF GREETING/EARLIER

assala:mualaykum

a:da:b

namaska:r

sala:m

khuda: ha:fiz

MODES OF GREETING/RELEXICALIZED

Hi

Hello

Good night

Ta ta

Bye bye

3 Food:

The first and the most pressing demand of man, as of any other living creature, is food. Earlier the category of food was very simple in Kashmir with rice, wheat, meat and vegetables constituting its main components. But now, in addition to these, a number of items have been added, that

are prepared instantly, like active popcorn, chocolate drinks, cold coffee, juices, soft and cold drinks.

This category of food experienced a lot of additions as shown:

1. *ka:l*- Dinner

The term dinner is so widely used that its earlier form as *ka:l* has been completely over shadowed. This excessive highlight of ‘dinner’ may be attributed to the dominant influence and impact of English language in the life of Kashmiri people.

2. *ko:j*- Lunch

The *ko:j* word faced the same treatment as that of *ka:l*.

In the category of bakery, the names like *lava:si*, *bə:kirkhə:nʲ*, *kulči* are facing diminishing usage against the contemporary usage of pastry, black forest, white forest, walnut pastry etc. Moreover, snacks, chips, pizzas, etc have been added to the list of food items.

Terms/Words in Food /Earlier

‘*ka:l*’

‘*ko:j*’

‘*lava:si*’

‘*bə:kirkhə:nʲ*’

‘*kulči*’

‘*katlam*’

‘*na:n*’

‘tsɔčivɔr’

‘girdi’

Terms/Words in Food/Relexicalized

Dinner

Lunch

Pastry

Black forest

White forest

Walnut pastry

Bread

Cake

Walnut pastry

4.Clothing:

Besides food, man requires clothing against the inclemency of the weather. Kashmir, as determined by its cultural and climatic factors, presents some unique features in this category, for example, *‘pheran’*. Nowadays there are a number of ways available to a common Kashmiri, besides *‘pheran’*, to fight against the winter inclemencies, e.g., room heaters, gas heaters, and bukharis etc. Similar advancements are observed in case of footwear like fur shoes, leather shoes and long shoes etc. As far as the clothing of the people of Kashmir is concerned, it has experienced a lot of changes. For example,

1. *pə:ja:mi* or *yeza:r*-Trouser

Trouser is mainly used against its predecessor terms of *pə:ja:mi* or *yeza:r*.

2. *sadir^j*-Waistcoat

The term *sadir^j* is mostly confined to the senior members of the family who also use the term *va:skat*, but this has been renamed as waistcoat in the contemporary times.

3. *bən^ja:n*-Sweater

Instead of the word *bən^ja:n* most of the people especially the young ones replace it with English equivalent 'sweater'. The term *bən^ja:n* was used with two restricted prefixes of *ha:ph nar^jov banyan* and *full nar^jov bən^ja:n* for half sleeves sweater and full sleeves sweater respectively. But now a wide range of terms are associated with this term like pullover, cardigan in addition to sleeveless, half sleeves and full sleeves.

Besides the above, the terms like skirt, coat, pants, tie, safari suit, sherwani suit, jodhpuri suit, cape, capri, cargos, etc are other additions to the list of clothes.

4. *pə:za:r*, *khərba:n*- boot/chappal/slippers

There is very little use of the terms *pə:za:r/khərba:n* for the present day boot/chappal/slippers. Today's Kashmiri has minimised the use of the terms *pə:za:r/khərba:n* in his vocabulary or has even totally left out these terms in his repertoire.

It is very important to mention here that the usage of these relexicalized terms over the earlier ones is mainly determined by the

factors like formal/informal situation, etc. For example, people prefer to use sweater, waistcoat, boot/chappal/slippers and trouser in formal settings, like in parties, in place of domestic use of ‘*bəɳ^ja:n*’, ‘*sadir^j*’, ‘*pə:za:r/khɔrba:n*’ and ‘*yeza:r/pə:ja:mi*’, etc.

Apart from these additions, a large number of words in this category are becoming obsolete like ‘*khra:v*’(foot wear), ‘*puliho:r*’(foot wear), ‘*dasta:r*’(turban), ‘*dejiho:r*’(kind of ornament) and ‘*kasabi*’(woman head dress) etc.

Terms/Words in Clothing/Earlier

‘*sadir^j*’

‘*yeza:r*’

‘*bəɳ^ja:n*’

‘*khɔrba:n*’

‘*pə:za:r*’

‘*puliho:r*’

‘*khra:v*’

‘*kasa:bi*’

Terms/Words in Clothing/Relexicalized

Sweater

Trouser

Skirt

Capri

Waist coat

Jacket

Pant

Capri

Coat

Safari suit

Sherwani

5. Furnishing: In Kashmir, by and large, people used to have a simple view of furnishing. The furnishing mainly comprised of '*vaguv*', '*gabi*', '*patij*', '*satrānD*' and at the most '*namdi*'. But, nowadays, this entire concept of furnishing has changed with the introduction of carpets, wall-to-wall, sofas, and décor etc, although '*namdahs*' are still there, but the words like '*vaguv*', '*patij*', '*satrānD*' and '*gabi*' are fast becoming archaic.

Terms/Words In Furnishing/Earlier

'vaguv'

'gabi'

'patij'

'satrānD'

namdi

Terms/Words In Furnishing/Relexicalized

carpets

wall-to-wall

sofas

décor

6. Utensils: Kashmiris used to have an average class of utensils. Majority of these utensils were made of mud, but with the passage of time utensils made of aluminium, and copper etc took over charge.

Terms/Words In Utensils/Earlier-

‘*de:g*’(cauldron, cooking pot),

‘*de:gč̣i/de:gč̣ivə:r*’(small cooking pots),

‘*khə:s^j p^ja:li*’(cup),

‘*Tu:r*’(bowl),

‘*Tɔbur*’(bowl),

‘*nəT^j*’(water container),

‘*k^jənz*’(bowl),

‘*Thā:D*’(lid),

‘*sin^jTu:r*’(bowl),

baṭiTu:r’(bowl),

‘*d^jo:n*’(churner),

‘*rikə:b^j*’(plate),

‘*thaniba:ni*’(butter-case),

‘*kato:r*’(bowl)

‘*kašvi*’(spoon),

‘čõ:či’ (spoon),
‘di:čivə:r’ (cooking pot),
‘nandika:b’ (bowl),
‘maTh’ (big water container),
‘To:k’ (bowl),
‘buška:bi’ (bowl),
‘ka:b’ (bowl),
‘lej/lejivə:r’ (cooking pots),
‘Dul/Dulij’ (water container),
‘tsoD/tsəD^jvə:r’ (cooking pots),
‘batiganj’ (lunch box),
‘a:bgarda:n’ (jug),
‘a:bkho:r’ (glass),
‘k^jānz’ (bowl)
‘tolič’ (bowl),
‘tabič’ (bowl),
‘masa:lDabi’ (wooden or aluminium box meant for spices),
‘Dũ:gi’ (bowl),
‘batirikə:b^j/batipale:t’ (plate)

Terms/Words in Utensils/Relexicalized

bowls,

cup,

plate,
coffee mug,
jug,
tea set,
dinner set,
churner,
trays,
sugar pot,
rice cookers,
toaster,
oven,
juicer,
mixer,
grinder,
glass,
spoon

The terms listed in the earlier category have been completely taken over by the words in the category of relexicalized one. For example, the terms like *'khə:s^jp'a:lⁱ'*(cup), are a bit alien in contemporary times.

The current scene witnesses the use of rice-cookers, juicer-mixer-grinder, ovens, dinning sets, tea sets, and mugs etc. Related is the concept of *'da:n'* that has been, in most of the cases, replaced by heaters, induction heaters, and cooking gas.

7. Structure of Houses:

Houses are, nowadays, constructed of wood, stones and brick. Earlier, there were muddy houses, followed by the houses constructed of wood, bricks, and stones.

The new words which have entered into this domain include: Hammam, Central heating system, drawing room, bathroom, living room, attic, verandah, glass room, lobby, and porch etc. There are also additions in the list of lexical items that are used in a present-day Kashmiri house like chandeliers, ceiling fans, table fans, table lamps, tube lights, halogen lights, MCB(miniature circuit breaker), and vertical blinds etc. The choice of lexical items is determined by the factors like education, for example, the use of the terms like living room, drawing room, kitchen and lobby etc in place of *behankuTh*, *deva:nkha:ni*, *da:nikuTh* and *voT* is very common among educated classes.

Terms/Words in Structure Of Houses/Earlier

behankuTh

be:Thak

deva:nkha:ni

da:nikuTh

voT

Terms/Words in Structure of Houses/Relexicalized

drawing room

bathroom

living room

attic

verandah

glass room

lobby

8. Leisure, amusement and pastimes:

There has been a striking change in this sphere of the social aspect of the life of the people of Kashmir. According to Lawrence (1992[1895] 255), “when the day’s work is done the Kashmiri seeks his home and after his food retires to rest...there is no society in the villages, and the only gatherings are at weddings or at the fairs at the shrines of the saints.”

The list of words in the category of amusement and pastimes, which were in extensive usage in earlier times, include:

- a) Hop-scotch (*‘sazilon’*): in this, there are seven compartments and one of the compartments is known as hell.
- b) Hide and seek (*‘tsurits^heph’*): this game was more popular among boys and they used to play it in the evening mainly in moonlight nights.

In this context, Khan (1999:101) writes, “Among the many amusements on the river banks was the sight of three or four women or girls sitting back to back. This was known as ‘*tuli-longun-tula:n-čhas*.”

In earlier times, ‘*laDi:šah*’(satirical poems), ‘*gevun*’(songs), and ‘*da:sta:n*’ (tales) etc were the techniques of entertainment available to the people of Kashmir.

Now the terms that are listed in the category of relexicalization include:

- a) Games like cricket, football, and volleyball etc are listed in the outdoor games, while as chess, carom, and snakes-ladders are among the favourite in the indoor games.
- b) Electronic and print media: Television, radio, CD players (compact discs like VCDs, DVDs etc) MP3 and MP4 players etc are the items in the electronic category of media. Newspapers (related to general information, economy and employment etc), magazines and journals etc are included in the category of print media

A large number of people are utilising these tools of recreation in their leisure times. Watching television programmes like situation comedies (sitcoms) or listening to music acts as a mind soother to the people.

- c) Information technology: the items like computers, laptops, palmtops, cell-phones, video-games, and i-pods etc have come due to the technological revolution and are frequently used by Kashmiris.

Terms/Words in Leisure/Amusement and Pastimes/Earlier

sazilon

tsurits^heph

laDi:šah

da:sta:n

tuli-ḷoḡgun-tula:n-čhas

Terms/Words in Leisure/Amusement and Pastimes/ Relexicalized

video games

i-pods

palmtops

CD players

cell phones

volley ball

chess

carom

Factors determining the use of relexicalized terms:

It follows, from the above mentioned account, that a change in the cultural lexicon is seen in almost all the spheres of life, and that the lexical choice, created as a result of change in culture, is determined mainly by:

- a) Language attitude – It includes the feelings people have about their own language or the languages of others, and plays an important role in the choice of lexical items to be used. People are fast adopting languages like Urdu and English for their elitist tinge, and as a result the words from these languages have become part and parcel of the vocabulary of people, especially the kids.
- b) Education –(educated vs. uneducated person/s):

This first factor of education has made groups in which the educated and highly qualified people prefer to use the relexicalized words as compared to their uneducated counterparts.

c) Urbanisation –(urban vs. rural person/s):

The people from the urban areas are highly inclined to the use of these new and renamed words in comparison to the people from rural areas.

d) Level of formality – (formal vs. informal situation):

The degree of formality, in a particular situation, determines the use of the words; the more formal situation, the more is the chances to use the relexicalized words, and vice versa.

All these factors play an active role in the selection of the choice of lexical items. To explain the above mentioned points, it needs to be mentioned here that the educated sect usually prefers to use the new terms, e.g. ‘paper’ over ‘*akhba:r*’, ‘cup’ over ‘*p^ja:li*’, and ‘soup’ over ‘*ras*’, etc. For example

-UE: *yi p^ja:li pilinə:ytav yapə:r^j / pass on the cup/*

-E: *yi kap kər^jtav pa:s a:n*

-UE: *ras čhu mazida:r /soup is tasty/*

-E: *su:p čhu mazida:r*

Likewise the people from urban areas, mostly, use the new additions of words e.g., ‘sweater’ over ‘*bən^ja:n*’, boot/chappal/slippers’ over ‘*khorbani*’, etc.

R: *yi bən^ja:n čha va:ryah asil /this sweater is really nice/*

U: *yi suweTar čha va:ryah asil*

Similarly, the level of formality determines the use of words. For example, at a function or even in a get-together people use the new additions as compared to old ones e.g., ‘hello/good morning/good evening’ over ‘sala:m/a:da:b/namaska:r’ etc.

-IF: sala:m, jina:b čha va:ray

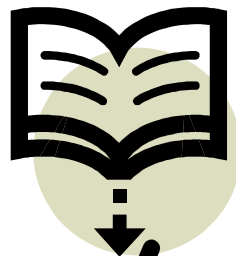
-F: hello, how are you

(Abbreviations used: UE-uneducated, E-educated, R-rural, U-urban, IF-informal, F-formal)

Conclusion:

As is clear the processes of semantic shift and relexicalization form an important component as far as Kashmiri is concerned. The process of semantic shift is obvious in cultural terms, notably among the ones borrowed from other languages like Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. As found during analysis, semantic shifts generally involve widening and narrowing of meaning. Similarly the process of relexicalization has affected different spheres and a whole range of new terms have entered and enriched different spheres of culture. As is evident a good number of new terms have found place in food, clothing, greetings and kinship etc. In many cases the new ones are used alongside the old ones while in others the old terms have become obsolete.

Chapter 5



Summary and Conclusions

The present work is an endeavour to explore the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri from an ethnosemantic point of view. Although a number of works are available which have been carried out on different aspects on Kashmiri culture and language but the field remained unexplored as far as a linguistic analysis of cultural lexicon is concerned.

5.1 Summary

In the introductory chapter of the work, an attempt has been made to define the terms like culture and ethnosemantics, and to get an idea of the Kashmiri culture and the interrelationship between culture and language. The introduction also sketches out the significance of the work and enlists the objectives of the present study. The chapter also provides an overview of the works that have been carried out in the field of Kashmiri language and culture. The chapter ends with a section on scope of the study.

In the second chapter, various sources were identified that make up the rich repository of Kashmiri cultural lexicon. In this regard, it was found that the languages like Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, and Turkish etc have contributed a lot in the makeup of the cultural content in the past. Also it was found that the languages like Hindi, Urdu, and English are still enriching the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri. An analysis was also carried out, in the second chapter, to determine the linguistic make up of the Kashmiri cultural lexicon. The analysis dealt with syllabic structure,

consonant clusters, nativization and vowel sequences at the phonological level, and compounding, echo forms, affixation, gender, number and the presence of conjunct verbs at the morphological level.

In the third chapter, an analysis of the lexicon constituting the cultural content of Kashmiri has been carried out using the concept of semantic fields. In this regard, a large number of semantic fields of Kashmiri culture were compiled, for example the semantic fields of marriage/wedding, kinship, *wazwaan* (Kashmiri feast), and arts and crafts etc. The semantic field of marriage pointed out the feature that there are a number of terms that are common to both Muslim marriage and Hindu marriage. The presence of sub semantic fields was one of the interesting observations in this regard. For example the division of semantic field of Kashmiri marriage/wedding into the sub semantic fields of Kashmiri Muslim marriage/wedding and Kashmiri Pandit marriage/wedding. This approach of compilation of semantic fields made a way to collect, and in this way get familiar to, a large number of lexical items related to the repertoire of Kashmiri culture.

The fourth chapter of the present work has made an attempt to delve into the process of change that has occurred in the Kashmiri language, and has subsequently made its imprint on the culture. This process of language change is quite evident in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri in the form of processes like semantic shifts and relexicalization. Semantic shift occurs as a word moves from one set of circumstances to another, resulting in an extension or narrowing of the range of meanings. There are a number of examples of this process in the cultural lexicon of the Kashmiri. The process of relexicalization (or simply renaming) highlighted the importance of the influences of

education, fashion and developments as a result of information technology. This process is very well illustrated in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri. In the context of the present work, the process was described with respect to the components of Kashmiri culture like kinship terminology, modes of greetings, food, and clothing etc.

5.2 Conclusions

1. From the present work the variegated nature of cultural lexicon of Kashmiri becomes clear.
2. Different languages like Sanskrit, Persian, Arabic, Turkish, Urdu, Hindi and English have contributed to the repertoire of Kashmiri cultural lexicon from time to time.
3. The features like the presence of monosyllabic, disyllabic and polysyllabic patterns of syllabic structures, and consonant clusters of word initial and word medial nature in cultural lexicon of Kashmiri is highlighted.
4. The process of compounding featured many combinations like Sanskrit+Arabic, Persian+Sanskrit, and Arabic+ English. The analysis at morphological level, further, pointed out to the processes like affixation, echo-formation, and conjunct verbs.
5. The process of language change is observed in cultural lexicon of Kashmiri with respect to the processes of semantic shift and relexicalization.

6. Semantic shifts were illustrated mainly in the form of narrowing and widening of range of meaning.
7. Relexicalization has introduced a whole range of new words and terms in the cultural lexicon of Kashmiri.
8. Both these processes of semantic shifts and relexicalization have widened the scope of the vocabulary of Kashmiri language in general, and Kashmiri culture in particular.



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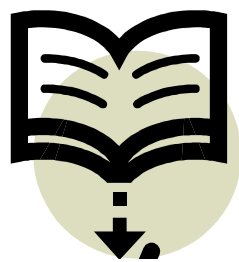
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Appendices

APPENDIX I

Glossary

a:bgo:š	a dish in wazwaan; spicy lamb meat curry
anihur	bachelor
assala:mualaykum	mode of greeting among Muslims
bara:t	The groom arrives at the venue in a wedding procession
bu:n^j	chinar tree
da:nivalkormi	a mutton curry with lots of coriander
dasta:r	turban
gah	light, glow, brightness, illumination
gañDun	engagement; a term preferred by Pandits for nišō:n ^j
gobur	boy, son
gošta:bi	a velvety textured meat ball in white yoghurt gravy
gōnah/pa:p	sin
hōdi:s	Prophetic saying
hōlvi	sweet dish
hō:ziri:	response (in the context of wedding)
iba:dath	worship
iran_e_sagi:r	small Iran
istekba;l	welcome
janath/sōrīg	heaven
juma:/šukurva:r	friday
kaba:b	a dish in wazwaan
kōdīl	bridge
kāgir	fire pot, Brazier
kemkha:b	a kind of cloth
kha:ndar	marriage
kra:m	caste
khutba-tun-nikah	marriage sermon
kul	tree
kulči	crisp baked bread

kulphi:	ice cream
lōgan	wedding hour
mahara:z	bridegroom
mḍ̃:z	dye(henna)
mḍ̃zim	go – between (person who mediates between bride's and groom's side)
majmi	big plates usually used to carry sweets and other gifts at the time of marriage
mankabat	praises in honour of Saint
mḍ̃:z^jra:t	night before wedding or engagement when henna dye is applied to Brides and grooms
martsivāgankormi	an extremely hot lamb meat preparation
mahar	dower
namaska:r	hello
na:t	praises in honour of Prophet Mohammad (pbuh)
nḍ̃t^j	a big pot used as an instrument of music, usually made of copper or Mud
navro:z	festival of Muslims (Shias)
nika:h	marriage contract
nišḍ̃:n^j	engagement; a term preferred by Muslims for gandun
ne:thir	marriage
pḍ̃ndit	scholar
pa:rči	a kind of cloth
pheran	loose gown
phiri:n	sweet dish
risti	meat balls in a fiery red gravy
roganjoš	tender lamb meat cooked with kashmiri spices
roph	a form of Kashmiri dance
sa:l	invitation
sa:l	wife's sister
sa:lar	guests
sarpo:š	lid

sawa:b/pun^ɨi	deed
si:kh kaba:b	minced meat roasted in skewers over hot coals
š̌o:mi:kaba:b/	minced mutton
š̌o:mi:Tiki	
tabakma:z	ribs of lamb simmered in yoghurt till Tender, then fried
thaph	ring ceremony authorising engagement of a boy to a girl in an informal Way
tumbakhn̄o:r	a musical instrument
v̄o:j	ring
v̄orus	Muslim festival held at the shrines of Saints mostly on their anniversaries
vanivun	wedding songs
va:zva:n	Kashmiri cuisine
yenivo:l	wedding day
z̄o:pa:n	sedan-chair
zarba:ph	kind of cloth

APPENDIX II

LIST OF PHONEMIC SYMBOLS

Consonants

p	bilabial(vl, unasp stop)
ph	bilabial(vl, asp stop)
b	bilabial(vd, unasp stop)
t	dental(vl, unasp stop)
th	dental(vl, asp stop)
d	dental(vd, unasp stop)
T	retroflex(vl, unasp stop)
Th	retroflex(vl, asp stop)
D	retroflex(vd, unasp stop)
k	velar(vl, unasp stop)
kh	velar(vl, asp stop)
g	velar(vd, unasp stop)
ts	dental affricate(vl, unasp)
tsh	dental affricate(vl, asp)
č	palato- alveolar stop(vl, asp)
ch	palate-alveolar affricate(vl, unasp)
j	palate-alveolar affricate(vd, unasp)
s	fricative(vl, alveolar)
z	fricative(vd, alveolar)
š	fricative(vl, palate-alveolar)
h	fricative(vl, glottal)
m	nasal(vd, bilabial)
n	nasal(vd, alveolar)
ŋ	nasal(vd, velar)
r	trill(vd, alveolar)
l	lateral(vd, alveolar)
v	semi-vowel(vd, bilabial)
y	semi-vowel(vd, palatal)

Vowels

i	lower high frontal, unrounded, short vowel
i:	high frontal unrounded

o	mid back rounded, short vowel
o:	mid back rounded, long vowel
a	low central unrounded, short vowel
a:	low central unrounded, long vowel
u	high back rounded, short vowel
u:	high back rounded, long vowel
e	mid frontal, unrounded, short vowel
e:	mid frontal, unrounded, long vowel
i	high central , unrounded, short vowel
i:	lower high central, unrounded, long vowel
ə	mid central unrounded short vowel
ə:	mid central unrounded long vowel
ɔ	low back rounded short vowel
ɔ:	low back rounded long vowel